ओ३म् ।

# अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

## BOOK EIGHTH.

### Chapter First.

**सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक् पदस्येत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥**

1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'." Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sûtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules likes VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word sarva has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वं खादति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वान्नीनो भिक्षुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पटो दग्धः ॥ In the present sûtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of sthâna, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like पचि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sûtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sûtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not âdesâ, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sûtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sûtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samâsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vâkyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vîpsâ with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपदिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vîpsâ, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the *sentence* ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sûtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

*Ans.* We could not employ the word padasya in this sûtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य'; so that the sense of vîpsâ is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vîpsâ is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vîpsâ can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sûtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sûtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here तृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह is optionally changed to घ by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As घ and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this घ or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word ( something as द्रोह्ता द्रोह्ता ) *then* optional घ or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयम-द्विर्वचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vârtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्श आद्यच्, meaning सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

**तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आम्रेडितम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्परं शब्दरूपं तदाम्रेडितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called âmreḍita (repeated).

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृषल वृषल ३ दस्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, the second word being âmreḍita is pluta. The word आम्रेडित occurs in Sûtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes avayava-shashṭhi: and the word परः denotes the avayava. In fact, this sûtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (avayava) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्वं कायस्य become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become pluta by VIII. 2. 95.

**अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्भवति यदाम्रेडितसंज्ञम् ॥

3. That which is called âmreḍita is gravely accented.

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the âmreḍita become anudâtta or accentless. In the above examples, the root भुज् becomes âtmanepadi by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are anudâtta by VI. 1. 186; the vikaraṇa श्नम् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the अ of this न is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भुङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by udâtta-nivṛtti-svara (VI. 1. 161). The âmreḍita bhuṇkte becomes wholly anudâtta. The word पशु is formed by the affix कु and is finally acute.

**नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्थे वीप्सायां च यद्वर्त्तते तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by kṛit affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जल्पति जल्पति 'he talks incessantly'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or

भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes ktvâ and ṇamul formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix यङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable kṛit words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥ Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vîpsâ or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word vîpsâ? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyâptum ichchhâ) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vipsâ. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः : 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatâ; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vîpsâ, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानय॥

परेर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्थे द्वे भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि त्रिगर्त्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरेभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसेनेभ्यः॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ॥

*Vârt:*—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यः or परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परित्रिगर्त्तं वृष्टोदेवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिषिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम्, उप, उदः, पाद पूरणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उत् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे द्वे भवतो द्विर्वचनेन चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

6. प्र, सम्, उप and उत् are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र प्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे (Rig VII. 8.4), संसमिद्युवसे वृषन् ॥ (Rig X .191. 1), उपोप मे परामृश (Rig I. 126. 7), किं नोदुदु हर्षसे दातवा उ (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवं देव्या धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधस् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

7. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word sâmipya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, अध्यधि ग्रामम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव दरिद्रति ।
अधोधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vîpsâ.

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-आदेः, आमन्त्रितस्य, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सन, भर्त्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सन इत्येतेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vâkya. Thus (1) envy :—माणवका३ माणवक अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवका३ माणवक अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ (3)anger :— माणवका३ माणवक अविनीतका३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ (4) blame :— शक्तिके३ शक्तिके यष्टिके३ यष्टिके रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—चौर चौरा३ वृषल वृषला३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the âmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारो देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vâkya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥ In the first example, कन् is added.

**एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्येतच्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवद्भवति ॥

**9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuvrîhi compound.**

The making it a Bahuvrîhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus ऐकैकमक्षरं पठति ( not एकमेकम् ), ऐकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति ( not एकयैकया ). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrîhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, ( 1 ) The sûtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrîhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एकैकस्मै ॥ For sûtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrîhi, and not to a word-form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrîhi in that sûtra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. ( 2 ) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sûtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसुआगार्ते ॥ This double-word is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrîhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudâtta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrîhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samâsanta affixing. Thus ऋक् ऋक्, पूः पूः ( doubled by VIII. 1. 10 ) do not get the samâsânta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

**आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तृ धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिवच्चास्य कार्यं भवति ॥

**10. A word is repeated, an d is treated like a member of Bahuvrîhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.**

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine ( not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism ). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्म्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्म्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतद्वेदितव्यम्। कर्म्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुब्लोप-पुंवद्भावान्तोदात्तत्वानि ॥

11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhâraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पटुपटुः, मृदुमृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix. पटुपट्वी, मृदुमृद्वी where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुः, पटुपट्वी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sûtra being an adhikâra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारो भेदः सादृश्यं च। तदिह सादृश्यं प्रकारो गृह्यते। प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अवधार्यमाणेनेकस्मिन्द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ चापले द्वेभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाचि द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां द्वेभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ डतरडतमयोः समसंप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निगदे भावे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्म्मव्यति हारे सर्वनाम्नो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥
वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्य चाम्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhâraya.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here: i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute.* Thus पटुपटुः, 'tolerably sharp', मृदुमृदुः "pretty soft", पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीयर् (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sûtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः ॥

Why do we say prakâre "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पटुर्देवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौर्वाहीकः 'a cow-like Bâhîka'. Here

'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

*Vârt*:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, अग्रे अग्रे सूक्ष्माः, ज्येष्ठं ज्येष्ठं प्रवेशय ॥

*Vârt*:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a mâsha, a mâsha out of this kârshâpaṇa to you two': i, e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kârshâpana contains many mâshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vîpsâ). The words माषं माषं देहि = द्वौ देहि; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि, त्रीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

*Vârt*:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the vârtika means 'a confused state of mind'. As अहिरहिः बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware. beware'. It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: अहिः अहिः अहिः, बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

*Vârt*:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

*Vârt*:—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

*Vârt*:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound ( V. 4. 57 ). Therefore, not here, द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', ( V. 4. 58 ). Because of this restriction, some read the vârtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

*Vârt*:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पच्यन्ते ॥

*Vârt*:—The words ending in the affixes डतर and डतम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाढ्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराढ्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वे इमे आढ्याः, कतमा कतमा एषामा-

क्यता ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभाविमावाढ्यौ, किदृशी किदृशी अनयोराढ्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as आढ्यता) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविमावाढ्यौ, कतरः कतरोऽनयोर्विभवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

*Vârt*:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus. अन्यमन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brâhmanas feed one another." अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhânta Kaumudi:— अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यस्मैदत्तं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैराभृशन्तौ (Mâgh) परस्परं ॥

*Vârt*:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्यो ऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥

**अकृच्छ्रेप्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय सुख इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां द्वे भवतः अकृच्छ्रे द्योत्ये ॥

13. The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The word कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्तु नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say "when meaning easily"? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रथः ॥

**यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यच्चात्मीय तत्तद्यथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथाशब्दस्य द्विर्वचनं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

14. The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं "all objects have been known according to their respective nature". सर्वेषां तु यथायथं = यथात्मीयं ॥

**द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्य, मर्य्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वमिति द्विशब्दस्य द्विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्यादावचन व्युत्क्रमण यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

15. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word द्वन्द्वं is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first इ into अम्, and the second इ into अ ॥ The word द्वन्द्व itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्वं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्यादावचनः, as, आचतुरं हीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते = माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sâṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—द्वन्द्वं व्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as — द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति धीरः ( See I. 3. 64 ) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as— द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतौ, द्वन्द्वं संकर्षण वासुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्व is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, द्वन्द्वं युद्धं वर्तते, द्वन्द्वानि सहतेधीरः, चार्ये द्वन्द्वः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्ययमधिकारः प्रागपदान्ताधिकारात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्येत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sûtra, the phrase "of a word", or "to the whole of a word".

This is an adhikâra sûtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full 'pada' or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तस्य लोपः) teaches "there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant". The word पदस्य must be supplied here to complete the sense: viz, of a *word* which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पचन्, यजन्, from पचन्त् and यजन्त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the त् though sanyogânta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthâna-shashṭhî i.e. "in the room of the *whole* pada"; and sometimes as avayava-shashṭhî i. e. "of a pada-of the *portion* of a pada".

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादित्ययमधिकार प्राक्कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादावित्येतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada".

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada.* Thus the sûtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an âmantrita". The phrase पदात्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, *and which comes after another pada*, all vowels become anudâtta". Thus पचसि देवदत्त "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्त पचसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudâtta (VI. 1. 198).

**अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादादाविति च एतत्त्रयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्तेः, इत ऊर्ध्वं यद्वक्ष्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादावित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥**

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words anudâttam "unaccented", ṣarvam "the whole", and apâdâdau "not in the beginning of a Pâda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sûtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sûtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पचसि देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe यत्ते नियतं रजसं मृत्यो अनवधृष्यम्, here मृत्यो though in the Vocative case, is not anudâtta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pâda.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of युष्मद् अस्मद् in the plural". The present sûtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus ग्रामो वः स्वं, जनपदो नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माकं and अस्माकं instead of वः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।
स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

The word पाद् in the sûtra refers both to the hemistiches of the sacred Rik hymns, as well as to secular ślokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्वे in the sûtra?

*Ans.* The word sarvam is used in the sûtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudâtta. For the word पदात् (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sûtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim आदेः परस्य ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. I. 28, the word पचति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because शप् and तिप् are anudâtta), will only lose its accent in देवदत्तः पचति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle ( by the vikaraṇa accent) in देवदत्तः करोति ॥ But by force of the word सर्वं, करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sûtra VIII. I. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is nó verb when conjugated in लुट् which has acute on the *first* syllable.

*Ans.* The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधिः; for where the rule आदेः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. I. 28 would apply to कुरुतँ: which is finally acute by VI. I. 186, in देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ कुरुतः, but not to देवदत्तः करोति ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sûtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लृट् in VIII. I. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in Lṛit, which has acute on the final. All Lṛit is acute in the middle by VI. I. 186. So the अलोऽन्त्यस्य rule does not apply.

*Ans.* The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. I. 19, there *only* the word would become anudâtta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudâtta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words वां and नौ are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. I. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vâkya-bheda): which is not desireable; for a vâkya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vakya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वां and नौ should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वां and नौ would have replaced only ,yushmad' and 'asmad'. Obj. Will not the anuvritti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वां and नौ, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

vam'? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal *stem* (not a *full* word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be *pada* before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सर्वे not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus ग्रामो वां दीयते, जनपदो नौ दीयते ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case-affix भ्यां otherwise.

**आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्त्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद स्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

**19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.**

Thus पचसि देवदत्त, पचसि यज्ञदत्त ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

*Vârt*:—The rules relating to nighâta ( by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c ) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighâta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अयं दण्डो, हरानेन ॥ "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun daṇḍa, because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, देवदत्तागच्छ "Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta." Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vârtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, 'Here is V. come back D." Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighâta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त ! माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति ( VIII. 1. 28 ) कूले ! शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighâta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः ( II. 1. 1 ), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighâta of Devadatta. Similarly in नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नद्याः is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नद्याः कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighâta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओदनं, i. e. शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वान्नावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्थयोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वाम्नावित्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

20. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâtta.

All the three sûtras पदस्य, पदात् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here. Thus ग्रामो वां स्वम । जनपदो नौ स्वम् । ग्रामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । ग्रामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sûtras.

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, ग्रामो युवाभ्यां कृतम् ॥ The word स्थ in the sûtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet वः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्यथासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

21. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâtta).

Thus ग्रामो वः स्वम्, जनपदो नः स्वम्; ग्रामो वो दीयते, जनपदो नो दीयते; ग्रामो वः पश्यति जनपदो नः पश्यति ॥

तेमयावेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरेकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीस्थयोर्यथासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudâtta).

Thus ग्रामस्ते स्वम्, ग्रामो मे स्वम्, ग्रामस्ते दीयते, ग्रामो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sûtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

**त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनस्येति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया यदेकवचनं तदन्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्यथासंख्यंत्वा मा इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word एकवचनस्य is understood here. Thus ग्रामस्त्वा पश्यति, ग्रामो मा पश्यति ॥

**न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे युष्मदस्मदोर्वान्नावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:—च, 'and' वा, 'or' ह, 'oh! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only'.

Thus ग्रामस्तव च स्वम्, ग्रामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते ग्रामो मह्यं च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां च पश्यति । ग्रामो मां चपश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यति । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । ग्रामस्तव वा स्वम् । ग्रामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीतये । ग्रामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । ग्रामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान्वा पश्यति । ह । ग्रामस्तव ह स्वम् । ग्रामो मम ह स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यं ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वां ह पश्यति । ग्रामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान्ह पश्यति । अस्मान्ह पश्यति । अह । ग्रामस्तवाह स्वम् । ग्रामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोरह स्वम् । आवयोरह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माकमह स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामोमह्यमह दीयत । युवाभ्यामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह दीयत । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामह पश्यति । ग्रामो मामह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । ग्रामस्तवैव स्वम् । ग्रामो ममैव स्वम् । युवयोरेव स्वम् । आवयोरेव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । ग्रामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामो मह्यमेव दीयते । युवाभ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । ग्रामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । ग्रामो मामेव पश्यति । युवामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तग्रहणं साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । ग्रामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sûtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As ग्रामश्च ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, &c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

&c. Where the sense of 'conjunction.' 'separation' &c are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sûtra will apply its prohibition.

**पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पश्य, अर्थैः, च, अनालोचने ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यार्था दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तैः पश्यार्थैरनालोचने वर्त्तमानैर्युक्ते युष्मदस्मदोर्वान्नावादयो न भवन्ति ॥**

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing", when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पश्यार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means 'knowledge', i.e. verbs denoting 'to know', आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physi cal 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing"="knowing". The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' ( physically ).

Thus ग्रामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; ग्रामस्तुभ्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, ग्रामो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe ग्रामस्त्वा पश्यति, ग्रामो मा पश्यति ॥

*Ishti*:—With regard to verbs of "seeing", the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

**सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तात्परयोरुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्विभाषा वान्नावादयो न भवन्ति ॥**

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मदो विभाषा अनन्वादेश इतिवक्तव्य ॥**

**वा० ॥ सर्व एव वान्नावादयोऽन्वादेशे विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥**

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or ग्रामे कम्बलस्तवस्वम् ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलोमेस्वम् ॥ ग्रामेकम्बलोमम- स्वम् ॥ ग्रामेकम्बलस्तेदीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलस्तुभ्यं दीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ ग्रामे कम्बलो मह्यं दीयते ॥ ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रा मा पश्यन्ति ॥ ग्रामे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say "which itself is preceded by another word"? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Why do we say "after a Nominative"? Observe कम्बलो ग्रामे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो ग्रामे मे स्वम् ॥

*Vârt*:—The option herein taught is restricted to युष्मद् and अस्मद् when not employed in anvâdesa. But when there is anvâdesa, then the substitution is

*compulsory* and not optional. This vârtika restricts the scope of the sûtra, and makes it a *vyavasthita vibhâshâ.* Therefore, there is no option here, where there is anvâdeśa:—अथो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

*Vârt:*—Others say, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in anvâdeśa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say "when not in anvâdeśa"? Observe अथो कम्बलस्ते स्वम् ,अथो कम्बलोमे स्वम् ॥ *Q.* If this is so, where is the necessity of the present sûtra at all ? Ans. The present sûtra is for the sake of anvâdesâ: i.e. the option taught in the present sûtra will take place only then, when there is anvâdeśa and not otherwise ; thus अथो मामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अथो मामे कम्बलस्तव स्वम, अथो मामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अथो मामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this vârtika, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in anvâdeśa, but compulsory where is no anvâdesâ; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not compulsory, even in anvâdeśa: there also the option will apply.

**तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, गोत्रआदीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्त्तमानानि अनुदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रं means 'he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c'. पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तीकरणे 'to make evident' (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम् "he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c". Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i. e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति ब्रुवम्, पचति पचति ब्रुवम् ॥ The word ब्रुवं is a noun derived from the root ब्रू by the affix कन्, the वच् substitution for ब्रू has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 ब्रुव, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राय, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रचक्षण, 11 विचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रहसन, 17 प्रयजन,

The word नाम optionally becomes anudâtta: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम or पचति नाम ॥

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुत्सितं गोत्रम् ॥

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पापं is an adverb.

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe खनति गोत्रं समेत्य कूपं ॥ "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sûtra, and not the word गोत्रादि nor the word अनुदात्त understood. For we find that whereever the word गोत्रादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोत्रादि is used in VIII. 1. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

**तिङ्ङतिङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, अतिङः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तं पदमतिङन्तात्पदात्परमनुदात्तं भवति ॥**

### 28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलमुत्पलम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक क्रिया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also शतनिरिञ् जयति, क्षेति, पुष्यति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्मभ्यं जेषि योत्सिच "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sûtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sûtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the *same* sentence, for the application of this nighâta: as we have already explained in VIII. 1. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1). स इद्देवेषु गच्छति (Rv. I. 1. 4), अग्ने सुपायनो भव (Rv. V. 1. 1), यजमानस्य पशून् पाहि ॥

**न लुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुट् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुडन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥**

### 29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sûtra which was rather too wide. Thus श्वः कर्त्ता, श्वः कर्त्तारौ, मासेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sârvadhâtuka affixes डा, रौ, रस्, are anudâtta after the affix तासि by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udâtta (III. 1. 3) and where the टि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udâtta, because the udâtta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेच्चेच्चण्कच्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु वित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कच्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति वर्त्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण् कच्चित् यत्र इत्येतैर्निपातैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also'!, 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कच्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not)', and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् करोति, यत् पचति, यदि करोति or यदि पचति, हन्त करोति, हन्त पचति, कुवित् करोति, कुवित् पचति, नेज् जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पताम (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते, स चेद् अधीते ॥ The particle चण् with the indicatory ण् has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिष्यति = अयं चेत् मरिष्यति ॥ Other examples are त्वम् च सोम नो वशो जीवातुम् न मरामहे 'if thou, Soma willest us to live, we shall not die' आ च गच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम "if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च मृलयाति नः, नतः पश्चादघं नशत् "If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कच्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कच्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ॥

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कूजति शाकटम् = गच्छत् कूजति शाकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root इण् 'to go'. It means गच्छत् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. 1. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sûtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोक्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sûtra. As तावदुषो राधो अस्मभ्यं, रास्व यावत् स्तोतृभ्यो अरदो गृणानाः = यावतोऽस्मान् प्रतीगृह्णीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं "in connection with". Observe यत्र क्व च ते मनो दक्ष दधस उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: यं यज्ञं परिभूरसि (Rv. I. 1. 4.) 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तेमां पृथिवीम् विभजामहै "come on, let us share up this earth". ब्रह्मा चेद्धस्तम् अग्रहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् त्वा तपति सूरो अर्चिषा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्थेभिः कुविद् आगमत् 'will he come hither for our praises'(Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नह इत्येतेन युक्ते प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyârambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat"—as नह भोक्ष्यसे ॥ Here भोक्ष्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows अदुपदेश (VI. 1. 186), and स्य becomes udâtta by the प्रत्ययस्वर (III. 1. 3).

Another example is नहाध्येष्यसे 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै तस्मिंल्लोके दक्षिणमिच्छन्ति "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. तस्मिन् is first acute by फिट् accent, लोके is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पचादि (III. 1. 134), दक्षिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in अ (स्वाङ्गशिटामदन्तानाम् Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is anudâtta by VIII. 1. 28.

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with सत्य when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे 'Truly will you eat'? सत्यमध्येष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नानृतं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood'. सत्यमिद्वा उ तं वयमिन्द्रं स्तवाम ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with अङ्ग when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अङ्ग पच 'yes, you may cook'. Here anga has the force of friendly permission. So also अङ्ग पठ ॥ But when it has the force of pratiloma, we have:—अङ्ग कूज ३ वृषल ॥ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is pratiloma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus स हि कुरु, सहि पैच, सहि पैठ ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कूज वृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥

**छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम्, अपि, साकाङ्क्षम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये हियुक्तं तिङन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:— अनृतं हि मत्तो वदति। पाप्मा एनं वि पुनाति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin". Here both verbs वदति and विपुनाति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मात् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति, तस्मादनृतवदन दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it,we have:—अग्निर्हि पूर्वमुदजयत् तमिन्द्रोऽनूदजयत् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा ह्यग्नेरजनिष्ट गर्भात् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अपश्यज् जनितारमग्रे (Taittarîya Samhitâ IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजनिष्ट is first acute, the augment अट् having the accent; while अपश्यत् is all anudâtta.

**यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यावत् and यथा ॥

Thus यावद् भुङ्क्ते, यथाभुङ्क्ते; यावदधीते यथाधीते, देवदत्तः पचति यावत्, देवदत्तः पचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावतम् ॥ The word आवतम् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अव् ॥ यावत् स्तोतृभ्योऽरदो गृणानाः ॥ The verb अरदः is Imperfect (लङ्) Second Person singular of the root रद् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

**पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम्, न, अनन्तरम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudâtta. Thus यावत् पचति शोभनम्, यथा पचति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe यावद् भुङ्क्ते, यथा भुङ्क्ते ॥
Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवदत्तः पचति शोभनं, यथा देवदत्तः करोति चारु ॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sûtra.

**उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव भवति ॥

**38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.**

The last sûtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रपचति शोभनं, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रपचति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रपचति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udâtta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sûtra as व्यवेतं ॥

**तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

**39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पश्य, पश्यत, and अह, when meaning 'praise'.**

Thus माणवकस्तु भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य मृगा धावन्ति ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from VIII. 1. 37, shows that the negation of that sûtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sûtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sûtra, and the न of VIII. 1. 29, but the पूजायाम् of this sûtra is connected with the general न of VIII. 1. 29 only.

Another example is आदह स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमेरिरे ॥

**अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

**40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहो meaning 'praise'.**

Thus अहो देवदत्तः पचति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sûtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sûtra.

**शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥**

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अहो in the remaining cases (i. e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो करिष्यसि ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गेहमेष्यसि ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sûtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for sûtra 40 applies to cases of pujâ, while this sûtra will give option in cases other than pujâ.

**पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥**

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means 'haste' (i.e. when पुरा means 'before').

The word परीप्सा means त्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीष्व माणवक पुरा विद्योतते विद्युत्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनयित्नु ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmaśâstras to study while it thunders of lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning *haste*'? Observe नडेन स्म पुराधीयते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also ऊर्णया स्म पुराधीयते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुर in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

**नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥**

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with ननु, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking of permission'. Thus ननु करोमि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission'? Observe अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त? ननु क॒रो॑मि भोः 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनुपसर्गम्-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने यदा वर्त्तते तदानेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

**44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.**

Thus किं देवदत्तः पचति, आहो स्विद् भुङ्क्ते ॥ किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो स्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or शेते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुङ्क्ते or अधीते) not being joined with किं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word किं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, किं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus भुङ्क्ते will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus किं देवदत्त ओदनं प॒च॒ति॒ आहोस्विच्छाकं ॥

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥ Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe किं देवदत्तः प्र पचति आहोस्वित् प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहोस्विन् न करोति ॥

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

**45. When however किम् is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.**

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudâtta. When is there the elision of this किम् because no rule of Pânini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पचति (or

प्रयाति )आहोस्वित् पँठति(or पठति ) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of किम् ॥ The option of this sûtra is a Prâpta-vibhâsha, as it is connected with the sense of किम् ॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without किम् ॥

**पहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पहि, मन्ये, प्रहासे, लृट् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृडन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रहासे ॥**

46. In connection with पहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यँसे, नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यँसि, नहि यास्यसि, यातस् तेन पिता ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इण् preceded by the preposition आङ् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively'? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये इति ; सुष्ठु च मन्यसे, साधु च मन्यसे ॥

By sûtra VIII. I. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थ), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sûtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here :— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sûtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 106, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kâśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपाशनमतन्त्रम ॥ But according to Mahâbhâshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि ॥ Here यास्यसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is त्वं रथेन यास्यसि इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyyata, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रथेन यास्यामि ॥

**जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतदविद्यमानपूर्वं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥**

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus आतु भोक्ष्यसे, आतु अध्यष्यसे, आतु करिष्यामि । Here से is anudâtta by VI. 1. 186, as it is an sârvadhâtuka affix coming after an अदुपदेश; the word आतु is first acute, as it is a Nipâta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe:—कटं आतु करिष्यसि ॥ The word कटं is end-acute as it is a फिट् or noun.

किंवृत्तं च चिदुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्वृत्तम्, च, चिदुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्तं किंवृत्तं, किंवृत्तग्रहणेन तद्विभक्त्यन्तं प्रतीयाद्डतरडतमौ च प्रत्ययौ, तत्किंवृत्तं चिदुत्तरमविद्यमानपूर्वं यत्तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

48. Also after a form of किम्, when the particle चित् follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of किम्, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word किम्वृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृत्तं ॥ The word किम्वृत्तं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes डतर and डतम ॥ Thus कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् भोजयति, कश्चिद् अधीते, केनचित् करोति, कस्मै चिद् ददाति, कतरश्चित् करोति, कतमश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को भुङ्क्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वं of the last sûtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:— देवदत्तः किंचित् पठति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघातप्रतिषेधोनुवर्त्तते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

49. Also after an immediately preceding आहो and उताहो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of *nighâta* or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛitti of अपूर्व from the last.

Thus आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते, उताहो पठति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sûtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः यदन्यदनन्तरात् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पॅचाति or पचति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः पॅठति or पठति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृण्नचेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं लृडन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्म्मणि वा लोट् तत्रैव यदि लृडपि भवतीत्यर्थः। कर्तृकर्म्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकग्रहणेन गृह्येते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting 'motion' ('to go, 'to come' to start' &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट् ॥ In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudâtta, if the kâraka is not all different. The sense is; with whatever case-relation (kâraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kâraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the fiinte verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kâraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आँगच्छ देवदत्तग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यॅस्येनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and द्रक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely ग्रामं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, ग्राम is first-acute being formed by the नित् affix मन् ॥ So also आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यॅते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उह्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यॅन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देवदत्त ओदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छेर्देवदत्त ग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Obseve आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, पश्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say 'if the kâraka is not *wholly* different'? Observe

आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, पिता ते ओदनं भोक्ष्यते ॥ उह्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यन्ते ॥ उह्यन्तां is the Imperative of वह् 'to carry'.

Why do we use the word सर्व 'wholly'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, त्वं चाहं च द्रक्ष्याव एनम् ॥ Here also there is prohibition of *nighâta* and the First Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not *wholly* different from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another. Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्व not been used in the sûtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

लोट् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं पश्य ॥ आव्रज विष्णुमित्र ग्रामं शाधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन ग्रामो द्रश्यतां यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

But not here पच देवदत्तौदनं, भुङ्क्ष्वैनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छेर्देवदत्त ग्रामं पश्यैनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Th us आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, पश्यतु रामं यज्ञदत्तः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, त्वं चाहं च पश्यावः ॥

The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, by which the 'option' is with regard to लोट् and not लृट् ॥

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् ॥५३॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषेयं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमुत्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the Kâraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sûtra is understood here. This is a Prâpta-vibhâshâ. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं प्रविश or प्रविश ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं प्रशाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII, I. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्गं 'joined with a Preposition'? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामंपश्य ॥

Why do we say अन्—उत्तमं 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, ग्रामं प्रविशानि ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वमनुवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोटं वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमुत्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लोटा &c, the whole of the preceding sûtra is u nderstood here.

Thus हन्त प्र विश or प्रविश, हन्त प्र शाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुरु, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. I. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुनैजावहै, हन्त प्रभुनैजामहै, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. I. 30.

The word प्रभुनजावहै is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root भुज in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहै is anudâtta by VI. I. 186, because the verb is anudâtta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आमन्त्रितम्, अनन्तिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

55. After आम, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आम् पचसि देवदत्ता३ ; आम् भो देवदत्ता३ ॥ The *nighâta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. I. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. I. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. I. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudâtta by VIII. I. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम् प्र पचसि देवदत्ता३ ॥

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here some hold that अनन्तिक is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकश्रुतिः as well as to निघातः ॥ Had it been merely a prohibition of *nighâta*, then the sûtra would become redundant, as the nighâta is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being asiddha, the pluta-udâtta of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited: and so the last vowel is prolated.

Others say that the word अनन्तिक means 'that which is not far off (दूर) nor very near'. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sûtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the plutodâtta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम भो देवदत्त, the word आम् being a Nipâta is first acute; the word भो is a shortened form of भवत्, (VIII.3.1. Vârt). and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवदत्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sûtra prohibits it. The निघात being thus prohibited by this sûtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकश्रुतिदूरात्संबुद्धौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony; the other causing प्लुतोदात्तत्वं by दूराद्धूते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यद्धितुपरं छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, हि, तु, परम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितमित्येतत्स्वरितत्वान्नानुवर्त्तते ॥ तिङिति वर्त्तत एव ॥ यत्परं हिपरं तुपरं च तिङन्तं छन्दसि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

56. A finite verb followed by यत् or हि or तु retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The anuvṛitti of आमन्त्रितं should not be taken in this sûtra, but that of तिङ् ॥ Thus with यत्परं we have:---गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो यदङ्गिरः ॥ The verb उदसृजः is the Imperfect (लङ्) 2nd person singular of सृज् of Tudâdi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रवो वा मुशन्ति हि (Rig Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb उशन्ति is the Present (लट्) Plural of वश् of Adâdi class. The samprasârana takes place because it belongs to ग्रह्यादि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते ॥ By the previous sûtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with यत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sûtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sûtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोहावेहि ॥ Here रोहाव is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + शप् + वस् = रोह +

आट् + वस् III. 4. 92 = रोहाव the स् being elided, as लेट् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इण्, preceded by the Particle आङ् ॥ Here in रोहाव एहि (= रोहाव आइहि), the verb रोहाव is followed by the Particle आ, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोट् (VIII. 1. 51), रोहाव is another लोट् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ् following after a non तिङ् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before र् by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वो रोहावेहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to उ॥

चनचिदिवगोत्रादितद्धिताम्रेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-आदि, तद्धित, आम्रेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आम्रेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेरुत्तरं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवदत्तः पचति चन ; देवदत्तः पचति चित्, देवदत्तः पचतीव ॥ The list of Gotrâdi words is given under sûtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवदत्त पचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पचति ब्रुवम्, देवदत्त पचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrâdi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudâtta Taddhita affixes, like रूपप्, कल्पप् (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as पचतितेरां (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as ; देवदत्तः पचति पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पचति चन ॥ The word गति in this sûtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतेः परं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (वा, ह, अह and एव VIII.1. 24).

The चादि words are those mentioned in sûtra VIII. 1. 24. Thus देवदत्त पचति च खादति च, देवदत्तः पचति वा खादति वा, देवदत्त पचाति ह खादाति ह, देवदत्तः पचति अह खादत्यह, and देवदत्तः पचत्येव खादत्येव ॥

But when preceded by a gati, we have देवदत्तः प्र पचति च प्र खादति च ॥ Here the first verb retains its accent by virtue of the next sûtra, but the second verb loses its accent.

**चवायोगे प्रथमा ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, वा, योगे, प्रथमा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अगतेरिति पूर्वसूत्रे चानुकृष्टमित्यत्र नानुवर्त्तते। च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति ॥

59. The first finite verb only retains its accent in connection with च and वा ॥

The anuvṛitti of अगतेः which was drawn in the last sûtra, does not run into this. Thus गर्दभांश्च कालयति, वीणां च वादयति ॥ गर्दभान् वा कालयति, वीणां वा वादयति ॥

The word योग in the sûtra indicates that the mere *connection* with the verb is meant, whether this connection takes place by adding these words च and वा, *before* the verb, or *after* the verb, is immaterial for the purposes of this sûtra, ( not so in the last ). The word प्रथमा shows that the *first* verb is governed by this rule and not the *second*.

**हेति क्षियायाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, इति, क्षियायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति क्षियायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

60. In connection with ह, the first verb retains its accent, when an offence against custom is reprimanded.

The word क्षिया means an error or mistake of duty, a breach of etiquette or a fault against good breeding.

Thus स्वयं ह रथेन यातिं३, उपाध्यायं पदातिं गमयति 'He himself goes on a car, while he causes his Preceptor to trudge behind on foot'. स्वयं ह ओदनं भुङ्क्ते३, उपाध्यायं सक्तून् पाययति 'Himself eats the rice, and makes the preceptor eat the gruel'. Here in both examples, the nighâta of the first verbs is prohibited. The verbs become svarita-pluta by VIII. 2. 104.

**अहेति विनियोगे च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह, इति, वि नि योगे, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अह इत्यनेन युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विनियोगे गम्यमाने चकारात् क्षियायां च ॥

61. In connection with अह, the first verb retains its accent, when it refers to various commissions, ( as well as when a breach of good manners is condemned ).

The word विनियोग means sending a person to perform several commissions. The word च in the sûtra draws in the anuvṛitti of क्षिया also.

Thus त्वं अह ग्रामं गच्छ, त्वं अह अरण्यं गच्छ ॥ So also when क्षिया is meant,

as स्वयमह रथेन याति १, उपाध्यायं पदातिं गमयति ॥ स्वयमहौदनं भुङ्क्ते १, उपाध्यायं सक्तून् पाययति ॥ The prohibition of *nighâta* and prolation are as in the last aphorism.

**चाहलोपएवेत्यवधारणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, अह, लोपे, एव, इति, अवधारणम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ चलोपे अहलोपे च प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति एवेत्येतच्चेदवधारणार्थं प्रयुज्यते ॥

62. When च and अह are elided, the first verb still retains its accent, when एव with the force of limitation, takes their place.

When does this लोप take place? Where the sense of च or अह is connoted by the sentence, but these words are not directly employed, there is then the elision of च and अह ॥ There the force of च is that of aggregation ( समुच्चय ), and of अह is that of 'only' ( केवल ). The च is elided when the agent is the same, and अह is elided when the agents are several.

Thus where च is elided:—देवदत्त एव ग्रामं गच्छतु, देवदत्त एवारण्यं गच्छतु = ग्रामं चारण्यं च गच्छतु ॥

So where अह is elided: as:—देवदत्त एव ग्रामं गच्छतु, यज्ञदत्त एव अरण्यं गच्छतु = ग्रामं केवलं, अरण्यं केवलं ॥

Why do we say अवधारणं 'when limitation is meant'? See देवदत्तः क्वेव भोक्ष्यते, देवदत्तः क्वेव वाध्येष्यते ॥ The word एव here has the sense of 'never' 'an impossibility'. The first sentence means न क्वचित् भोक्ष्यते ॥ क्व + एव = क्वेव by पररूप ( VI. 1. 94 Vârt ).

**चादिलोपे विभाषा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदि, लोपे, विभाषा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो नचवाहाहैवयुक्तइति सूत्रनिर्दिष्टा गृह्यन्ते; तेषां लोपे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्नानुदात्ता भवति विभाषा ॥

63. When च, ( वा, ह, अह and एव ) are elided, the first verb optionally retains its accent.

Thus with च लोपः—शुक्ला व्रीहयो भवन्ति or भवन्ति, श्वेता गा आज्याय दुहन्ति ॥ Here भवन्ति optionally may either lose or retain its accent. So also when वा is elided, as:—व्रीहिभि र्यजेत or यजेत, यवै र्यजेत ॥ So also with the remaining.

**वैवावेति च च्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै वाव, इति, च, छन्दसि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवाव इत्येताभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

64. Also in connection with वै and वाव, may optionally, in the Chhandas, the first verb retain its accent.

Thus अहर्वै देवानाम् आसीत् ( or आसीत् ), रात्रिरसुराणाम् आसीत् ॥ बृहस्पति र्वै देवानां पुरोहित आसीत् (or आसीत्), शण्डामर्कावसुराणां (Taittariya Sanhita VI. 4. 10, 1, but with out the particle वै ). अयं वाव हस्त आसीत् ( or आसीत् ), नेतर आसीत् ॥

वै has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाव that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥

**एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजामेका जिन्वति ( or जिन्वति ), ऊर्जमेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति ( or अत्ति ), अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवानुपातिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च प्रथमे केवले तथा । साधारणे समानेऽल्पे संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥

**यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निघातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यथाकाम्ये वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. In connection with यद् in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛitti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighâta, which commenced with न लुट् ( VIII. 1. 29 ) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kâsikâ, डतर and डतम are not included, according to Patanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किंवृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यो भुङ्क्ते, यं भोजयति, येन भुङ्क्ते, यस्मै ददाति, यत् कामास्ते जुहुमः ( Rig Veda X. 121. 10 ) यद्यङ् वायुर्वाति ( T. S. V. 5. 1. 1. ) यद् वायुः पवते ॥ For the form यद्यङ् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sûtra is in the Ablative ( यद्वृत्तात् ) and therefore requires that the verb should *im-mediately* follow it, yet in यद्यङ् वायु वाति, the intervention of वायुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pâtanjali.

*Vârt:*—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whensoever'. The word यथाकाम्यं means यथेच्छं 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The *nighâta* is prohibited here also. As यत्र क्व च यजते तद् देवयजन एव यजते ॥

**पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनुदात्तम्, काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

**67. After a word denoting praise belonging to काष्ठादि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes aundâtta.**

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word काष्ठादिभ्यः, is added to the sûtra from a Vârtika.

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, दारुणाध्यापकः, दारुणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । भृश । भृशाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । स्वध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । यौः । यौरध्यापकः । यौरभिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

*Vârt*:—The final म् should be elided in forming these words. The word दारुणं is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like ग्रामं गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding: hence the elision of म् is taught. This is the opinion of Vârtika—kâra Kâtyâyana. According to Kâśikâ, there is compounding under मयूर व्यंसकादि rule, and so म् is elided by the general rule of samâsa. This becoming of अनुदात्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute ( VI. 1. 223 ) But there is no elision in दारुणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vârtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case - affix is not employed and so the म् is not heard, there the second member becomes anudâtta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of म् as दारुणमधीते, दारुणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sûtra, is a jñâpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशेऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते "In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम्, in explaning forms like यत्रक्व वायुर्याति &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of 'anudâtta' was current, the express employment of this term in the sûtra indicates that the *prohibition* (of anudâtta) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhânta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अद्भुत, meaning *wonderful, prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samâsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayura-vyansakâdi.

*Vârt*:—The elision of म् should be mentioned. दारुणम्+अध्यापकः, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case म्, is natural. The vârtika, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kâśikâ. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhâshya, this aphorism is not a samâsa rule: and the words दारुणम् &c, are adverbs not admitting of samâsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Mayuravyansakâdi class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samâsa rule, the word समासे would have been used in the sûtra and this is valid. There is no adhikâra of samâsa here, that could have caused samâsa and in this view, the vârtika मलोपश्च also becomes effective: had it been a samâsa rule, the vârtika would have been redundant.

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारुण, 3 अमातापुत्र, 4 वेश, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अद्भुत, 10 अनुक्त, 11 भृश, 12 घोर, 13 सुख, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 अति, 17 कल्याण

**सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङन्तमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudâtta, even along with the Gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं प्रचति, यत् काष्ठं प्रपचति ॥ By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with यत्; the present sûtra re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word सगति 'along with its Gati', indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here यत् काष्ठं शुक्ली करोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ॥

The word तिङ् is used in the sûtra to indicate that the words qualified by काष्ठं &c in the preceding sûtra, were non तिङ् words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of मलोपश्च of that sûtra, therefore, does not apply here.

**कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनादिति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुदात्तं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

*Kârikâ* सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इष्टोऽतिङीति चोक्तार्थे ।
पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudâtta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गोत्र &c.

The anuvṛitti of यस्मात् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sûtra is current. Thus पचति पूति, प्रपचति पूति, पचति मिथ्या, प्रपचति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुत्सने 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पचति शोभनम् ॥

Why do we say सुपि 'a noun'? Observe पचति क्लिश्नाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोत्र &c. See पचति गोत्रम्, पचति ब्रुवम्, पचति प्रवचनम् ॥

*Vârt:* It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sûtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुत्सन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पचति पूतिर्देवदत्तः, प्रपचति पूतिः ॥

*Vârt:* It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥ The word पूति is not a क्तिन् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरयम्; nor is it a word formed by क्तिच् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phiṭ I. 1) it will be end-acute. The *vârtika*, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from पू by adding the Uṇâdi affix क्तिच् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

*Vârt:* A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पचन्ति पूतिः, or पचन्ति पूतिः, प्रपचन्ति पूतिः or प्रपचन्ति पूतिः ॥

*Kârikâ.* The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of म is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory च, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of म् mentioned above refers to the elision of म् in दारुणम्-अध्यापकः = दारुणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोजनमेतदित्यर्थः ॥

**गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतो ऽनुदात्तो भवति ॥

**70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.**

Thus अभ्युद्धरति, समुदानयति, अभिसंपर्यूहति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपचति ॥ Here देवदत्त is a Prâtipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe आ मन्द्रैरिन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि मयूर रोमभिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prâtipadika मन्द्र, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sûtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङि, च, उदात्तवति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङन्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

71. A Gati becomes anudâtta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus यत् प्र पँचति, यत् प्रकरोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङि in the sûtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udâtta *word*, but only before udâtta *verbs*. Thus आ does not become anudâtta before मन्द्रैः in आ मन्द्रैरिन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before *verb* only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term *verb*, and not to *noun*, like as the word *father* refers to its correlative term *son* and not *nephew*: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the *verb* like याहि and not to a noun like मन्द्रैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the *verb* must be a *finite* verb, and not a *verbal root*. So that though a verbal root be udâtta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udâtta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudâtta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udâtta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङि ॥ For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम ending forms, like प्र पचतितराम् and प्रपचतितमाम्, for these are not तिङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? *Ans*. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आमन्त form पचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ् was not used in the sûtra, the form पचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudâtta; and so प्र being followed by an anudâtta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रॆपचतितराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरप् (पचतितर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपचतितर, then add the affix आम ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the *last* prevails' (सतिशिष्ट), and so प्र is anudâtta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वं पदमेकवर्जं ॥ According to them the word is प्रपचतितरां॑म् ॥ According to both of these views, this sûtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपचतितराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sûtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकोपपदानाम् कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः "It should be

stated that Gatis, Kârakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter". This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words *only* before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati प्र can never be compounded with पचतितराम् as it is not a सुबन्त ॥ So both प्र and पचतितराम् having different accents, the present sûtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of प्र ॥

Why have we used the word उदात्तवति ? See प्र पचति, प्र करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

**आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमानवत् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्भवति, तस्मिन्सति यत्कार्यं तन्न भवति ॥**

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वं and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or वत् in the sûtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in श्याम् भो देवदत्त! the vocative भो is considered as one word (एकान्तर) for the purposes of separating श्याम् from the vocative देवदत्त under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of Kâsikâ is that भो would have been considered as अविद्यमानवत् but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say पूर्वं 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in देवदत्त यज्ञदत्त, the vocative देवदत्त gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word पूर्वं connotes its correlative पर 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in देवदत्त पचसि, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि the first vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यमुने, and, therefore, यमुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यमुने becomes anudâtta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे; similarly सरस्वति and शुतुद्रि are anudâtta, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of मे ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥

**नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमन्त्रिते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

73. A perceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sûtra prevents the operation of the last sûtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने गृहपते, माणवक जटिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पचसि here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or समानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say समान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अम्ब्ये देवि सरस्वति ईडे काव्ये विहव्ये एतानि ते अघ्न्ये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittariya Br. is:-- इडे रन्ते अदिते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रेयसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अघ्निये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

**विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेषवचने, बहुवचनम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणाविद्यमानवत्त्वे प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रितान्ते परतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sûtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus देवाः शरण्याः or देवा शरण्याः ॥ ब्राह्मणा वैयाकरणाः or ब्राह्मणा वैयाकरणाः ॥

The anuvṛitti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sûtra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe माणवक जटिलक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The sûtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pâṇini are:—73. नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे; 74. सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kâśikâ has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛitti.



ओ३म् ।

# अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

## BOOK EIGHTH.

### CHAPTER SECOND.

**पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । तत्र चैवं सपादसप्ताध्याय्यनुक्रान्ता एतस्यामयं पादोनो ऽध्यायो ऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरोत्तरो योगः पूर्वत्र पूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्भवति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikâra or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha.* And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम्=असिद्धवद्भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोति ॥ The rule is "as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule". This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an âdeśa rule, and establishing the operation of an utsarga or general rule. Thus अस्मा उद्धर; द्वा अत्र; द्वा आनय, असा आदित्यः ॥ In all these, the elision of य् and व् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ+उ does not give rise to guṇa, nor आ+अ=आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आद्गुणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the दीर्घ rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अमुष्मै, अमुष्मात्, अमुष्मिन् from अदस् ॥ Thus अदस्+ङे=अद+ङे (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final स्, which again merges in the

preceding अ VI. 1. 97)=अमु+ङे (VIII. 2. 80. उ being substituted for अ, and म् for द् of अद्). Now the substitution of स्मै for ङे takes place only after Pronouns ending in अ; but अमु is a pronoun ending in उ, so this स्मै (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sûtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of अ into उ by VIII. 2. 80 is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजढत्तथा ।
मतोर्वत्वे भलां जश्त्वं, शुडलिण्मात्रिदर्शनम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजङ्घा, क्षामिमान्, औजढत्, and शुडलिण्मान् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष् we add the Nishṭhâ त, as शुष्+त=शुष्+क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51)=शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix टाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का+क=शुष्काक, the feminine of which with टाप् will be शुष्कका (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this इ substitution optional, when a क् precedes the अ, as is the caṣe here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्कका ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजङ्घा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजङ्घा like मद्रिकाकल्पा; there being no puṅ-vad-bhâva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as asiddha for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) क्षामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मतुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामिः or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षामस्यापत्यं=क्षामिः, or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति=क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishṭhâ त to the root क्षै, as क्षै+त=क्षा+त (VI. 1. 45)=क्षाम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मत् to व, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in शमीवान् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवान् ॥

(4) औजढत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root ऊढि, from the Past-Participle of वह् ॥ Thus वह्+त=ऊढ (VI. 1. 15). Add to it णिच् in the sense of तमाख्यत् (III. 1, 26): and then form its लुङ् ॥ The लुङ् is formed by adding चङ् (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming ऊढ are considered asiddha; viz. the rule by which ह was changed to ढ (as वह्+त=उह्+त=उढ्+त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उढ्+त=उढ्+ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which ध was changed to ढ (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ढ was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as ऊढ्+ढ=ऊ+ढ=ऊढ VI. 3. 111). The elision of णि before णि being considered sthânivat, we reduplicate ह्त; as ऊह्तढ+चङ्+त्=ऊढढत् (VII. 4. 60)=ऊझढत् (VII. 4. 62)=ऊजढत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no इ added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनग्लोपे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजढत् ॥ The form औजिढत् is from ऊढि ending in the affix क्तिन् ॥

(5) गुडलिण्मान् ॥ This is formed by adding मतुप् to the word गुडलिह्, which is formed by क्विप् (गुडं लेढि) Here also the म of मतुप् is not changed into व by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह् to ढ् (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ढ् to ड् are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules connot be considered 'prior' or पूर्व; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकालं हि संज्ञा परिभाषम् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sûtras षष्ठी स्थाने योगा, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

But with regard to the paribhâshâ विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यं, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्फोर्यम्, अवगोर्यम् formed by ण्यत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दीर्घ rule VIII.2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa rule VII. 3. 86 and the dîrgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavâda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavâda rule would be useless. The apavâda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule होढः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavâda rule दादेर्धातोर्घः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have दोग्धा, धोग्धुम् (दुह्+तृच्=दोघ्+तृच्) ॥

**नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्-स्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-विधिषु, कृति ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति सुब्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्विधौ च कृति। विधिशब्दोयं प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेयत्वात्तैः कर्म्मषष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनो ऽभिसंबध्यते । सुपा तु संबन्धसामान्यवचनषष्ठ्यन्तेन कर्म्मसाधनः। तेन सुपः स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोसौ सुब्विधिरिति सर्वत्रासिद्धत्वं भवति ॥

2. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment तु before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sûtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुब्विधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when तु is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुब्विधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुब्विधि :—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपिच (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि :—As राजवती and not राजवती ॥ For the elision of न् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but न्वती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्मम् and दशार्मम्, the elision of न being asiddha, the first member does not become âdy-udâtta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चतीक्षी : the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजन् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding ङीप् to the मतुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्मम् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चन्-।-अर्म, and when न् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि :—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पंच and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षट् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take टाप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vârtikakâra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sûtra ( संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च तन्निमित्तत्वाल्लोपस्य ), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation ( as षट् ). Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस् , without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sûtra. The पञ्चन् and दृशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sûtra the word still retains its designation of पद् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sûtra? There are two views as regard definitions ( संज्ञा ), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjña, and Paribhâshâs remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñâ sûtra is to be read with every particular operative sûtra, and the sanjñâ given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjña sûtra becomes identified with a vidhi sûtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñâs and Paribhâsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the पद् sanjñâ will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् and for prohibiting टाप ॥ Hence thus sûtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sûtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sañjñâ is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that पद् sanjñâ which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sûtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

( 4 ) तुग्विधिः—Thus वृत्रहभ्यां, वृत्रहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. ( ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sûtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृत्रहन् took place because of the case affix भ्यां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिरङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sûtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i. e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix? Observe वृत्रहच्छत्रम्, वृत्रहच्छाया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते ( राजन्+क्यच्+ते=राज+य+ते=राजीयते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33 ). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजाश्व there is ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 101).

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुभावो नाभावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धोभवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्वरोन्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो रुत्वे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिज्लोप एकादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निष्ठादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीड्विधिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तुग्विधौ छे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ श्चुत्वं धुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजश्त्वचर्त्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धे वक्तव्ये ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परसवर्णत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पदाधिकारश्चेल्लत्वढत्वघत्वनत्वरुत्वषत्वणत्वानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sûtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना ॥

The existence of मु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of घि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, अमुना ॥ Had the मु been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना *had been* added, then the मु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अद ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long आ the उ of अमु remains short. Or this sûtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sûtras (1) मु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) मु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sûtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः "the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that मु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So मु being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lenghening.

*Vârt:*—That ekâdeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vârtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अय्, 2. आय्, 3. आव् substitutions of ए, ऐ and औ; 4. the accent of

ekâdeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शतृ formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudâtta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which *all* syllables become anudâtta.

Thus (1) let us take अय् first. वृक्षे is finally acute by Phiṭ I. 1. The locative of this is वृक्ष+ङि (anudâtta III. 1. 3)=वृक्षे (ए is udâtta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृक्षे+इदम=वृक्षय्+इदम=वृक्ष इदम ॥ So also प्लक्ष इदम ॥ The udâtta ekâdeśa ए must be considered as *siddha*, so that the अय् substitute of ए should also become udâtta. (2) आय: As कुमार्यै इदम ॥ Here also आ is udâtta for similar reasons. कुमारी+ङे=कुमारी+आ+ए (VII. 3. 112)=कुमार्य्+आ+ए=कुमार्य्+आ+ए (VI. 1. 174)=कुमार्य्+ऐ (VI. 2. 90)=कुमार्यै (VIII. 2. 5). The ऐ is udâtta and its आय् substitute will also be udâtta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udâtta, then this आ (आट् VII. 3. 112) augment is added to ङे, and then (आ+ए) there is vṛiddhi ऐ; and then कुमार्य्+ऐ=कुमार्यै ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ+ए be first combined into ऐ, and then this ऐ be made udâtta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vârtika for the purposes of आय् ॥ The word कुमार is end-acute by Phiṭ accent (Phiṭ I. 1). Add to it ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमार+ई=कुमार्+ई (अ is elided by VI. 4. 148)=कुमार्+ई (VI. 1. 161)=कुमारी ॥

(3) आव्. As वृक्षाविदम् or प्लक्षाविदम्, for the same reasons as above [ वृक्ष+औ ( anudâtta )=वृक्षौ VIII. 2. 5, वृक्षौ+इदम् ].

(4) एकादेश accent. As गाङ्गेऽनूपे ॥ Here गाङ्ग+इ=गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्ग is formed by अण् affix (गंगाया इदम्) and is end-acute. The ekâdeśa ए is udâtta by VIII. 2. 5. This udâtta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए+अ there is pûrva-rûpa-ekâdeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekâdeśa ए will be udâtta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अनूपे is a प्रादि compound, आपोऽनुगतं=अनूपं ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शतृ - accent. As तुदती, तुदते ॥ Here in तुद्+श+शतृ, the affix श is udâtta, and शतृ is anudâtta. The ekâdeśa अ will be udâtta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekâdeśa - udâtta should be considered valid for the pur poses of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udâtta. Thus तुदत्+ई=तुदती, तुदत्+ए=तुदते ॥ The prohibition अनुमः in VI. 1. 173 is a jñâpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekâdeśa accent should be considered siddha, in the accent of the शतृ, because without this ekâdeśa accent, there is no śatṛi ending word with नुम which is antodâtta.

(6) एकानुदात्त: accent. As तुदन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुद्+श+अन्ति (VI. 1. 186) the ekâdeśa अ is udâtta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekâdeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudâtta, as तुदन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥

( 7 ) सर्वानुदात्त: accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुदन्ति, ब्राह्मणा लिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekâdes'a-accent of तुदन्ति and लिखन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudâtta.

The word antaranga is used in the vârtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekâdes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and प्रपचतीति, where the word इति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekâdeśa accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekâdeśa accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sûtras. Thus sûtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the *gati* should be unaccented before an accented verb: but प्र does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of ती is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudâtta by VIII. 1. 28.

*Vârt:*—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into उ ॥ What is the necessity of this vârtika? Observe हरिवो मेदिनं त्वा ॥ The word हरिव: is formed by मतुप् affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मत् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वत् or हरिवत्; add सु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवत् + सु, then add नुम् augment, as हरिवन्त् + सु ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by म, a हश् letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by हश् letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

*Vârt:*— When ekâdeśa is to be done, the elision of सिच is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीत् and अपावीत् ॥ Here the सिच् is elided by इट ईटि ( VIII. 2. 28. ) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dîrgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाव् + इ + सीत् = अलाव् + इ + o + ईत् = अलावीत् ॥

*Vârt:*— The substitute of the Nishṭhâ affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स to ष, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्ण:, वृक्णवान् ॥ The root is ओव्रश्चु (VI. 11) the indicatory ओ shows that the nishṭhâ त is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhâ substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ष, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न would have been still considered as त or a झल् letter. The equation is as follows :—व्रश्च् + त = वृश्च् + त (VI. 1. 16) = वृश्च् + न (VIII. 2. 45) = वृश् + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्ण: (VIII. 4. 1) The श् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न as asiddha and therefore equal to त or a झल् letter. Thus it will be seen that this न is असिद्ध for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इट् augment, the one word क्षीब, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipâtana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब्+इट्+त=क्षीब्+इ+त =क्षीब+अ (इत् being elided, this is the anomaly)=क्षीब ॥ Here the elision of इत् is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, क्षीब is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopâdeśa of इत् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of *accent* would not have applied.

Similarly क्षीबेन तरति=क्षैबिक formed by ठन् (IV. 4. 7) which *affix* is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly क्षीब may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as क्षीब्+त=क्षीब्+अ ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इट् is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इट् augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इट् विधि may well be omitted from the vârtika, for इट् being a *portion* of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्ययविधि would include इट्-विधि also.

*Vârt*:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक् augment before the letter छ ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अग्ने and पटो assume the forms अग्ना३इ, and पटा३उ ॥ These इ and उ are pluta-vikâras. As अग्ना ३ इच्छत्रम्। पटा ३ उच्छत्रम् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक् augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक् under VI. 1. 76.

*Vârt*:—The श् and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before धुट् (VIII. 3. 29). The root श्चुतिर् क्षरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a स, which is changed to श because of the subsequent च by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come धुट् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अट् श्च्योतति, रट् श्च्योतति ॥ The words अट् and रट् are अड् and रड् formed from the roots अटति and रटति by क्विप् ॥

Why is the root श्च्युतिर् considered to begin with स् and not with श् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श् originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुट् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु श्च्योतति=मधुश्च्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधुश्च्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुश्च्युतमाचष्टे=मधुश्च्यवति ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधुश्चि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुश्च्य्, then श् (which represents स्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and य is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मधुच्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मधुक् ॥ Had the root been षकारादि, then this ष could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and ष् and the form would be मधुष् which would be changed to ड् and then to ट् and we should get मधुट् which is not desired.

*Vârt*:—The जश् and चर् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभणतुः and बभणुः ॥ Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनादेशादि root and the Perfect would be भेणतुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have चिच्छित्सति, and from उच्छ, उचिच्छिषति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिष् of उछिष् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for छ been considered asiddha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

*Vârt*:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सय्यन्ता, सव्वँत्सरः, यल्ँल्लोकम्, तल्ँल्लोकम् ॥ In सय्यन्ता &c the म् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvâra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the परसवर्ण change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

*Vârt*:—If there be the adhikâra of the word 'pada' in those sûtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लत्व the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. हत्व the change into ह (VIII. 2. 31), 3. घत्व the change in to घ (VIII.2.33), 4. नत्व the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रुत्व the change to रु (VIII. 2. 75), 6. षत्व the change to ष (VIII. 3. 85), 7. णत्व the change to ण (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunâsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छत्व the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गल्लो गलः; गरोगरः ॥ 2. द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा ॥ 3. द्रोढाद्रोढा ॥ 4. मुग्नो मुग्नः or मुत्तो मुत्तः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत् This is लङ् second person singular of भिद्, the स् of सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to रु by VIII. 2.74. The न is the vikarana श्नम् ॥ 6. मातुः ष्वसा मातुः ष्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषवापाणि माषवापाणि or माषवापानि माषवापानि ॥ 8. वाङ् नयनम् वाङ् नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनं ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक्च्छयनं or वाक्शयन वाक्शयनं ॥

The लत्व &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asiddha, we would have got the following double forms also गरोगल, गलोगरः which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sûtra न मु ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asiddha-ness mentioned in the

preceding vârtikas. The second sûtra would be हु ने, and we would here draw in the anuvṛitti of न from the preceding.

**उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितो ऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudâtta vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udâtta or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a यण् (semi-vowel), which यण् itself has come in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udâtta yan. Thus कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः ॥ The word कुमारी is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (ङीप्) replaces अ of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudâtta औ and अः become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yaṇ. The words सकृलू and खलपू are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are खलपू+इ=खलप्वि, and सकृल्वि by VI. 4. 83. This व् is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ऊ, therefore, it is udâtta-yaṇ. After this udâtta-yaṇ, the anudâtta इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sûtra. Now when खलप्वि+आशा and सकृल्वि+आशा are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita-yaṇ. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yaṇ. As खलप्व्याशा and सकृल्व्याशा ॥ The word आशा is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say: that the svarita accent on इ in खलप्वि is by this very sûtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण् âdeśa of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-yaṇ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by âśraya. ( आश्रयात् सिद्धत्वम् ) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha: and we should have svarita in वध्याशा &c also. For the word वधि is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore धि is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The य् is svarita yaṇ, the anudâtta आ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans :—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

*Vârt*:—यणस्वरो यणादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ "The यण् accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण् substitution".

Some say, that even in such cases as वृक्ष्याशा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittarîya Śâkhâ :—यास्ते विश्वाः समिधः सन्त्यग्ने, where the अ of अग्ने is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brâhmaṇa portion as: वृक्ष्याशयति the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kâtyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sûtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Mâhabhâshya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sûtra into two parts: (1) उदात्तयणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udâtta-yaṇ". (2) स्वरितयणश्च परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yaṇ" and in this second sûtra, we shall read the anuvṛitti of udâtta-yaṇ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean: : उदात्तयण इत्येवं यो निर्वृत्तः स्वरितः, तस्य यणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति ॥ The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sûtra and *this* svarita should be changed to यण्, which would change the anudâtta into svarita. So that the स्वरित यणः means this *particular* svarita obtained by the application of this very sûtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sûtra at all. The svarita in सकृल्ल्व्याशा would then be explained by udâtta-yanah rule. सकृल्लू + इ + आशा = सकृल्ल्व् + य् + आशा ॥ Here व् is udâtta-yaṇ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita य् is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ Nor is this य् to be considered as sthâni-vad to इ by I. 1. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthânivat by I. 1. 58.

Why do we say "of udâtta and svarita"? Observe वैदी + आशा = वैद्याशा, so also शार्ङ्गरव्याशा ॥ Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is अनुदात्त यण् ॥ These words are first acute owing to नित् accent (IV. 1. 73).

Why do we say "an *unaccented* vowel becomes svarita"? Observe कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ The word अत्र is acutely accented on the first by लित् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य य एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udâtta vowel is udâtta.

The word "of an anudâtta" is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udâtta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udâtta. Thus for the udâtta इ of अग्नि and for the case-ending औ which is anudâtta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udâtta according to the present sûtra, as अग्नी ॥ Similarly वायू, वृक्षौ: प्लक्षौ: ॥

Why do we say "with *udâtta* vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + शप् + अन्ति = पच् + अ + अन्ति । Here शप् is anudâtta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. 1. 186. The ekâdeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudâtta. In forming this para-rûpa ekâdeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अ of शप् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are क्व वोऽश्वाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावरं मरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudâtta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अश्वः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्वन् to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151). The स् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to उ (VI. 1. 113). Thus वो ऽश्व ॥ Here अ becomes pûrva-rupa by VI. I. 109, which is udâtta. क्व is formed from किम् by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अवर is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udâtta.

स्वरितो वा ऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते पदादौ उदात्तेन सह य एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा भवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udâtta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udâtta.

Thus सु + उत्थितः = सूत्थितः or सूत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीक्षते or वीक्षते; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोऽसि or वसुकोऽसि ॥ Here the word सु is a Karmapravachanîya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमास with the Past Participle, the Avayayîbhâva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudâtta. Thus the udâtta उ of सु is compounded with the anudâtta उ of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekâdeśa is optionally svarita. In वीक्षते and वसुकोऽसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudâtta, which when compounded with वि and वसुका become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरितः is employed in the sûtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sûtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ In this form of the sûtra, the udâtta of the preceding sûtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudâtta. Udâtta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udâtta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudâtta beginning"? Observe देवस्तोऽत्र ॥ Here अत्र begins with udâtta and not anudâtta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षैः, वृक्षाः, प्लक्षैः and प्लक्षाः, where anudâtta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ; in this wise. There will *necessarily* be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ+इ) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pûrva-rupa by the application of एङःपदान्तादति (VI. 1. 109). There will be udâtta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि+इदम्=वीदम् in वीदं ज्योतिर्हृदये, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two *short* इ's is technically called प्रश्लेष ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is *necessarily* svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तेऽवदन्, सोऽयमागात् ॥ So also where there is क्षैप्रः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udâtta or svarita vowel, as अभ्यर्चामि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prâtis'âkhyas: इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षैप्राभिनिहतेषु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ+ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must *always* be acute. As अस्य श्लोको दिवीयते (Rig. 1. 190. 4). The words दिवि + ईयते are compounded into दिवीयते ॥ The word दिवि Locative singular is finally acute by VI. 1. 171. ईयते is from the Divâdi root ईङ् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. 1. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्त्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अह्नो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word पदस्य 'of a Pada' is understood in this sûtra. Thus राजा, राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजता, राजतरः, राजतमः ॥ The Nominal stem राजन् gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prâtipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अहन्नहिम् ॥ Here अहन् is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (लङ्) of the root हन् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sûtra, then the sûtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य; and as the word पदस्य is understood here, the sûtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, *where ever it may be*, of a Pada called stem. So that the न of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पदस्य is not sthâna shashṭhî, but viseshaṇa shashṭhî, नलोप अन्तग्रहणं पदाधिकारस्य विशेषणत्वात् ॥

Q. But even if you use the word अन्त in the sûtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिक, and the sense of the sûtra will be "न् which is at the

end of a pratipadika, which (prâtipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "न् which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहन्राभ्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रातिपदिक is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sûtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

*Vârt*: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न of अहन् ॥ As अहः, In अहन् the case-affix सु is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the न् of अहन is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 69. अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of अहन् is changed to र्, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of न्, hence this vârtika.

*Q.* There is no necessity of this vârtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नलोप ॥ Ans. But रु and र are considered asiddha for the purposes of न elision. The रु and र would have debarred न elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. Q. Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ i.e. in the अ preceding the न् ॥ Q. The very fact that the author has used the word अहन् in the sûtra VIII. 2 68, shows that रु does not replace अ but न् ॥ Ans. If so, then र will find scope in the Vocative, हे अहन् where न् is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this न् which will be replaced by र्, as हे अहर् and so also हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ !

The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to उ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the न् is not elided by the option of the Vârtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहन् which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् ॥ The one indicates the exact *form*, showing that the न् is not elided; and by the second word the रु is ordained for this final न् ॥

**न ङिसंबुद्ध्योः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ङि, सम्बुद्ध्योः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ङावुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

**8. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.**

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sûtra. The examples of non-elision of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आर्द्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न् is not elided, as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

Q. When ङि or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a PrÂtipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of पद before the affix but is भ, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñÂpaka), that a word retains the designation of prÂtipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (भ) to such a stem. Thus राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः, here the न् is elided by considering the word राजन् as a prÂtipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of अ by VI. 4. 134.

*VÂrt* :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्मतिलः ॥

In हे राजवृन्दारक ! the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sûtra, because the *whole* compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

*VÂrt* :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म !

**मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, वः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तात् मकारोपधादवर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्वं इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

9. For the म of the affix मत् is substituted व, if the stem ends in म or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in म् or having म् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the म् of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in म्, as किंवत् (किंवान्), शंवत् (शंवान्). Secondly म् penultimate : as शमीवान्, दाडिमीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, प्लक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say "म or अ ending or म or अ penultimate"? Observe अग्निमान्, वायुमान् ॥ Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe यवमान्, दल्मिमान्, ऊर्मिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. ऊर्मि, 3. ऊर्म्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृमि, 6. कुञ्चा, 7. वशा, 8. द्राक्षा, 9. ध्राक्षा ॥ These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate. 10. ध्रजि, 11. ध्वजि, 12. सञ्जि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हरित्, 14. ककुत्, 15 गरुत् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इक्षु, 17. मधु, 18. द्रुम, 19. मण्ड, 20. धूम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an âkritigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the म् of मतुप् is not changed to व्, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मतं (=नृमत इदं), the व् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word मात् in the sûtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म्+अ; it is a Samâhâra Dvandva of these two letters.

झयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

10. The व is substituted for the म of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As अग्निचित्वान् ग्रामः, उदश्विस्वान् घोषः, विद्युत्वान् बलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्वान्, दृषद्वान् देशः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

11. The व् is substituted for म of मत्, when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, मुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्ठीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्ठीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्म्मण्वती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

12. The following Names are irregularly formed: âsandîvat, ashṭhîvat, chakrîvat, kakshîvat, rumaṇvat, charmanvatî.

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sûtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka:

आसन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।
अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

When not a name, we have आसनवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्दी, as in the sentence औदुम्बरी राजासन्दी भवति ॥ The change of म् to व् after this word would take place regularly by the last sûtra: its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अष्ठीवत् is from

अस्थि which is changed to अष्ठी ॥ As अष्ठीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सदोहविर्धानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सत्रे जङ्गमानि सदो हविर्धानानि, न स्थेऽक्रमा-वस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्तव्याय चक्रयुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्वत् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मत् takes the augment नुट् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मत् has taken नुट् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युदकशब्दस्य मतावुदन्भावो निपात्यते उदधावर्थे संज्ञायां विषये ॥

13. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तडाक &c. The affix कि is added by III. 3 93, and उदक changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उदधिः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

14. Also राजन्वान्, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मतुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताद्रेफान्ताच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्वत्वं भवति ॥

15. In the Chhandas व is substituted for the म् of मत्, when the stem ends in इ (or ई) or र् ॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as त्रिवती याज्यानुवाक्या भवति ; हरिवो मे वनं त्वा ; अधिपति वती जुहोति ; चतुरग्निवानिव ; आरेवानेतु मा विशत् ( आरेवान् from रयि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, दधीवांश्चरुः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्तम्, ऋषिमान्, ककीमान् सूर्ये ते द्यावापृथिवीमन्तं ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वान्, धूर्वान्, आशीर्वान् ॥

**अनो नुट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, नुट् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्त्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्नुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

16. The affix मत् gets the augment नुट्, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in अन् ॥

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्त्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्द्धन्वती ॥

The word अक्षण्वत् is thus formed: अक्षि + मतुप् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अनङ् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = अक्षमत् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment नुट्॥ If this augment is added to मतुप्, as न्मतुप् then it becomes a *portion* of मतुप्, and this न् would be changed to व by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter म्, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वता &c. we cannot change it to ण because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being नुक्, the न् would be changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7 in सुपथिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by नुटोऽसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च वत्वं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति; as shown above.

The नुट् augment being considered as asiddha, is not changed to व, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षन् (VII. 1. 76) + मत् = अक्ष + मत् (the न् of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment नुट् now, and we have अक्ष + न्मत् ॥ The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asiddha, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, व् is substituted for म्, and not for न्, as would have been required by I. 1. 54.

**नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंज्ञकस्य नुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भूरिदाव्नस् तुड् वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रथिन ईकारान्तादेशो घे परतः ॥

17. In the Chhandas, the affixes तर and तम receive the augment नुट् after a stem in न् ॥

The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus सुपथिन् + तर = सुपथि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = सुपथि + न्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = सुपथिन्तरः ॥ So also दस्युहन्तमः ॥

*Vârt:*—The augment तुट् is added to these affixes after भूरिदावन्; as भूरिदावत्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिप्).

*Vârt:*—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रथिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मतुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present vârtika. If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रथिन् as रथिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekâdeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रथिईतरः ॥ As रथीतरः, and रथीतमं रथीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथ in the sense of मतुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्धातो रेफस्य लकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीटकर्पूरादयोपि कपेरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥
वा० ॥ बालमूललघ्वसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कपिलकादीनां संज्ञाछन्दसोर्वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल ॥

The र् here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र् and the same consonant of the vowel ऋ ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र् there is substituted ल्; and for र् when a portion of ऋ, the ल् is substituted, i. e. ऋ becomes लृ ॥ Thus कृप्=क्लृप्, as in the sûtra लुटि च क्लृपः (I. 3. 93). कल्प्ता, कल्प्तारौ, कल्प्तारः ॥ क्लृप्तः, क्लृप्तवान् ॥

The word कृपा is derived from the root कप् by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidâdi class (कपेः संप्रसारणं च III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a lâkshanika form.

*Vârt*:—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृपीट, कर्पूर &c, are also from कप् ॥ Or by the Uṇâdi diversity, the ल् change does not take place.

*Vârt*:—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अङ्गुलिः or अङ्गुरिः ॥

*Vârt*:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पिलीकम or तिर्प्पिरीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांसुरं or पांसुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुक्रः or शुक्लः, कल्मषं, कर्मषं ॥

Some say 'र and ल are one': and operations regarding र may be performed with regard to ल ॥

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेफस्तस्य लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

19. ल is substituted for the र of a Preposition, when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, प्लायते ॥ Here arises the queston, does the word अयति qualify the word र्, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sûtra would mean, "the र् *immediately* followed by अयति is changed to ल" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र् is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र+अयति or परा+अयति, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekâdeśa sandhi of these, will make र् immediately followed by अयति; but the ekâdeśa, being sthânivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि+अयते=पल्ययते, though here य् intervenes between र् and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

In the second view, the sûtra would mean when a Preposition is followed by ayat then its र् is changed to ल, and none of these difficulties will arise

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र् of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल्॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by अयति; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + अयते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions दुस् and निस् is changed to र्, but this र् is not changed to ल, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरयणम्, दुरयणम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल्, as निलयनम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhânta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition दुर् also, which gives दुलयते ॥

ग्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गॄ इत्येतस्य धातो रेफस्य लकार आदेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

20. ल is substituted for the र of गॄ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिल्यते, निजेगिल्येते, निजेगिल्यन्ते ॥ The root गॄ takes यङ्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गर्हितं गिलति = जेगिल्यते ॥

Some say that ग्र of the sûtra includes the two roots गॄ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गॄ (गृणाति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudâdi gṛî is only taken and not the Kryâdi. The Kṛyâdi gṛî never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निगीर्यते with the Passive affix यक् ॥

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ प्रत्यये परतो ग्रो रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादेशो भवति ॥

21. The र of gṛî is optionally changed to ल्, before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गलः meaning 'neck' is always with ल; while गरः 'poison' is always with र.

In निगार्यते or निगाल्यते, the elision of णि is considered sthânivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with य ॥ Obj.—The sthânivad-bhâva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, लत्व and णत्व on the maxim "तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेषु" ॥

Or the र् will be *first* changed to ल्, as being antaranga, and then the णि will be elided.

The forms गिरौ, गिरः are either from the Kryâdi root gṛî, or *l*-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as the

affixes औ and अः are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ल change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sûtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of गृ formed with the affix क्विप् ॥

**परेश्च घाङ्कयोः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अङ्कयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य घशब्दे ऽङ्कशब्दे च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ योगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The र् of परि is changed to ल्, before gha and anka.

As परिघः or पलिघः, पर्यङ्कः or पल्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हन् is replaced by घ ॥

*Vârt:*—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

**संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In श्रेयान्, भूयान्, the रु though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + सु = श्रेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रेयन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रेयन्रु (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the रुत्व does not debar lopa, it debars the जश् change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of जश् class; रु prevents it. As पयः, पयः ॥

For रुत्व is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रेयन्रु where the present sûtra applies, as well as in पयरु where this sûtra does not apply. But the जश्त्व rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the *whole* ground of रुत्व, hence if जश्त्व rule were not debarred by रुत्व, the latter would find *no* scope. Therefore रुत्व debars जश्त्व to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोपः for it still has scope left to it else where.

In दध्यत्र and मध्वत्र formed from दधि + अत्र and मधु + अत्र, by changing इ and उ to य् and व्, we have दध्य् + अत्र and मध्व् + अत्र, where य् and व् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यण् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तौ, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपदस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्त्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अक्षाः and अत्साः for अक्षार्स् and अत्सार्स् the Aorist of क्षर् and त्सर in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यञ्चमत्साः ॥ The ईट् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुर्स् and पितुर्स् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the ऋ+अ of मातृ+अस् is changed to उ, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क् from ऊर्ज्+क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमार्ट् from मृज in लङ् the तिप् (त्) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 114, the ज् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ड् VIII. 4. 53 and finally to ट् (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

*Kârikâ*:—धि सकारे सिचो लोपश्चकाद्धीति प्रयोजनम् ।
आशाध्वं तु कथं जश्त्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥
सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।
लुङश्चापि न मूर्द्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥
घसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिञ्ग्रहणं न तत् ।
छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे ॥

25. The स् is dropped before an affix beginning with ध ॥

As अलविध्वम्, अलविढ्ढम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविढ्ढम् for अलविस्ध्वम् and अपविस्ध्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ष्, and then to a letter of जश् class (VIII. 4. 53), ध् would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII, 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ड, as अलविड्ढ्वम् &c. ॥

From an *ishti*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाद्धि in चकाद्धि पलितं शिरः (हे शिरः पलितं सच् चकाद्धि शोभस्वेत्यर्थः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to द by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पयस् धावति, where स is changed to रु and then to उ (VI. 1. 114)

=पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सग्धिः from घस् with क्तिन्, and in बब्धाम् from भस् in the Imperative with ताम्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चकाधि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga रु debars this bahiranga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आशाध्वं, by the elision of स् of शास्; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आशाद्ध्वम् or आशाध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sûtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुङ् from it. For the forms like अच्योड्ढ्वम्, अप्लोड्ढ्वम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ष्; and the ध after it will be changed to ढ, and then ष् changed to ड् by जश्त्व (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेट् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविध्वम् &c, though we may get the form अलविड्ढ्वम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj. – If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of घस् and भस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सग्धिः and बब्धां in the passages सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, and बब्धां ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sûtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सग्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सघ्, and so also बब्धां from the root बन्ध ॥

[*N. B.*—The word सग्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + क्तिन् = घस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = घ्स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = घ् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so घस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कर्तारमध्वरे for निष्कर्तारमध्वरे; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; आम्बानां चरुः for नाम्बानां चरुः; अभ्यादिनी रुगणः or अभ्यादिनीः सुगणाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

*Kârikâ:*—धिसकारे सिचोलोपश्चकाद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, "This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चकाद्धि" ॥

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ "How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स is not elided but changed to a जश् letter".

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्, श्रुति भापि न विद्यते। लुङश्चापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेटि दुष्यति ॥ "If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेट् Aorist". घसि भसोर्न सिध्येत, तस्मात् सिज्ग्रहणं न तत्। "The forms सग्धिः and बब्धां could not be formed

from घस् and भस् if the elision of स् were confined to सिच्. Hence सिच् should not be read into this sûtra."

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे " The elision of स् in सग्धिः and बब्धां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे instead of निष्कर्त्तारमध्वरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ झल उत्तरस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a *jhal* consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant.

Thus अभित्त for अभित्स्त, अभित्थाः for अभित्स्थाः ॥ So also आच्छित्त, अच्छित्थाः, अवात्ताम्, अवात्त ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a jhal consonant'? Observe अमंस्त and अमंस्थाः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभित्साताम्, अभित्सत ॥

The स of this sûtra refers also to the स of सिच्; no other स is elided. As सोममसुत् स्तोता; दृषत् स्थानम् ॥ Here the स of स्तोता and स्थानं, though preceded by a jhal letter त्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As अकृत; अहृथाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्योष्ट, अप्लोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृथाः, अलाविष्टाम्, अलाविषुः अपाविष्टाम् and अपाविषुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a jhal". Observe अकृषाताम्, अकृषत ॥

This lopa is also of the सिच्, therefore not here द्विष्टरां, द्विष्टमाम् ॥ Here to the word द्वि is added the affix तुच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes तर and तम with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईटि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इट उत्तरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईटि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इट्, if after this स् the augment ईट् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of लू is अलाविस् ( III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35 ), the Personal ending त gets the augment ईट् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sûtra, this स् between ह् and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीत्; so also, अदावीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इट्'? Observe अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् ॥ Why when the augment ईट् follows? Observe अलाविष्टाम् अलाविषुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यान्ते यः संयोगः झलि परतो वा संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ झलि सङीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The स् or क, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having स or क as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लस्ज् we have लग्नः and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त and तवत्; the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साधुलक् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्नः मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मस्ज् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तट् from तक्ष्; so also तष्टः, तष्टवान्, काष्ठतट् ॥

*Vârt:*— It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahâra सङ्" ॥ The सङ् is a pratyâhâra formed with the स of सन् (III.1.5) and the ङ् of महिङ् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhâtu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vârtika applies to all the preceding sûtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरोऽ भोषिर्हिष्टं च दृषत्स्थः काष्ठशक्स्थिरः । कुञ्चा घुर्येति मा स्मैषु सस्थानीनि भर्वास्तिति ॥

So that in गिरः there should not be the optional ल by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोषिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before षि as required by VIII. 2. 25. In हिष्टं the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In दृषत्स्थः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठशक्स्थिरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्चा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In धुर्यः (धुरं वहति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठशक्स्थाता ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant थ ॥ काष्ठशक् is formed by adding क्विप् to शक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शक् with क्विप्, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठशक्स्थाता ( काष्ठशकि तिष्ठति ).

In वास्यर्थम्, काक्यर्थम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because य् is a Bahiranga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास्य् काक्य् are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्"? Observe नर्नर्त्ति, वर्वर्त्ति ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant'? Observe पचः शक् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end of a word'? Observe तक्षिता, तक्षकः ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus पक्ता, पक्तुम्, पक्तव्यम् and ओदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in टाप् of कुञ्च ( कुञ्च् ) by IV. 1. 4 list, the ञ् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pâṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sûtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to तङ् affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च without इ and with a penultimate न्, and not ञ् as we find in Dhâtupâṭha कुन्च कौटिल्याल्पी भावयोः ( Bhu. 200 ). With the elision of न we have निकुचितिः before the क्तिन् affix (VI. 4. 24) कुचितः in Past Part. and क्रुञ्चाकुञ्च् ॥ In निकुचितम् we cannot have the optional कित् of the Nishṭhâ by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कित्, thus कुन्च्+क्त=कुच्+त ॥ This elision of न्, will not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-कित् ॥ The affix क्त्वा takes the augment इट् under VII. 2. 9 (vârt). The word कुञ्च् is formed from this root by क्विन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then ञ् is changed to ङ by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुञ्च is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvâra and parasavarṇa change of this न् to ञ् by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asiddha, there is no palatal ञ्, and hence there is no guttural change.

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ढकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम् ॥ The इट् is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलाषाट्, तुराषाट् by ण्वि (III. 2. 63, VI. 3.137 and VIII. 3. 56) वोढा, वोढुम्, वोढव्यं, प्रष्ठवाट्, दित्यवाट् (III. 2. 64) from सह् and वह्, with the affixes तृ, तुम्, तव्य and ण्वि ॥ For the त् of these affixes there is substituted ध by VIII. 2. 40, and this ध is changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ढ by VIII. 3. 13. For the ढ in प्रष्ठवाट् either ट् is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ड् by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेर्धातोर्घः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारादेर्धातोर्हकारस्य घकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते ॥

32. Of a root beginning with द, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

For the final ह् of a द-beginning root, घ is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, गोधुक्, from दह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. ध is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII. 4. 53. For the घ in काष्ठदघ् is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and द becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with द"? Observe लेढा, लेढुम्, लेढव्यम्, मधुलिट् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word दादेः, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with द and forms part of a root, for the ह of such a part is substituted घ." What does follow from it? The letter घ is substituted in अधोक् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरवयवो यो दादिरवयवस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c), the घ would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sûtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but the *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भाव: "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sûtra, by saying 'that root which begins with द् in its original enunciation in Dhâtupâṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with द ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिह्य (दामलिहमिच्छति = दामलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with द; the ह of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to घ, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add क्विप् to this root, we get दामलिट् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक् ॥

वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, ष्णुह, ष्णिहाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुह मुह ष्णुह ष्णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा घकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

33. The ह of druh, muh, shṇuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to घ, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus द्रुहः, द्रोढा or द्रोग्धा, मित्रध्रुक्, मित्रध्रुट्, मुह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोढा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुट्, स्नुह, उत्स्नोग्धा, उत्स्नोढा, उत्स्नुक्, उत्स्नुट्, स्निह, स्नेग्धा, स्नेढा, स्निक्, स्निट् ॥

The root द्रुह would have taken always घ by the last sûtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got घ but for this sûtra.

These roots belong to Radhâdi sub-class of Divâdi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhâdi subdivision, the इट् is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sûtra बाहुलादीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to यङ्लुक also; as शेमुक or शेमुट् ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to yañ luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य धकारादेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

34. The ह of नह is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त of the affixes तृ &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding ध is substituted द by VIII. 4. 53. उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्पदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only द been ordained in the sûtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध for the participial त &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhâ त into न by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध्+त=नध्+ध (VIII. 2. 40)=नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been द, we should have नद्+त=नन्नं by VIII. 2. 42.

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य थकारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हग्रहो र्भश्छन्दसि हस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. For the ह of the root आह्, there is substituted थ before a jhal letter.

As इत्थमात्थ, किमात्थ ॥ The word आथ्थ becomes आत्थ by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आत्थ by चर change, as the थ is also changed to त; and by so doing there would have been only one sûtra, instead of two i. e. आहनहो र्धः would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute ध of the last sûtra would have been enough. The त substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word झलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह, आहतुः, आहुः ॥

*Vârt:*— In the Chhandas, भ is substituted for the ह of हृ and ग्रह ॥ Thus गर्दभेन संभरति; मरुतस्य गृभ्णाति; सामिधेन्यो जभ्रिरे, उदग्राभञ्च निग्राभञ्च ब्रह्म देवा अवीवृधन् ॥

व्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रश्च, भ्रस्ज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रश्च भ्रस्ज सृज मृज यज राज भ्राज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च षकार आदेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, sṛij mṛij, yaj, râj, and bhrâj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष् before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रश्च् :—व्रष्टा, व्रष्टुम्, व्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृट् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाभृट् । सृज् । स्रष्टा । स्रष्टुम् । स्रष्टव्यम् । रज्जुसृट् । मृज । मार्ष्टा । मार्ष्टुम् । मार्ष्टव्यम् । कंसपरिमृट् । यज । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयट् । राज् । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट् ॥ The श ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sûtra debars that by ordaining ष ॥ In मूलवृट् and धानाभृट् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the स् is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes जश्-letter ड्, which becomes ट् by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दप्राट् is formed by क्विप्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भ्राज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix, because such affixes will always take इट् augment. . These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ज् to ष्, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राष्टिः, भ्राष्टिः with क्तिन् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vârt., and इट् augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have प्रच्छ :—प्रष्टा, प्रष्टुम्, प्रष्टव्यम्, शब्दप्राट् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sûtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to श, and this श will be changed to ष by the present sûtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to श by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्वित् or ङित् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sûtra; moreover the ष् substitution here, and the श् substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter च्छ ( with the augment तुक् ). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to ष्, the त् of तुक् would be changed to ड्, and we should have पृड्ढः instead of पृष्टः ॥

Of roots ending in श् we have लिश्:—लेष्टा, लेष्टुम्, लेष्टव्यम्, लिट्; विश् :—वेष्टा, वेष्टुम, वेष्टव्यम्, विट् ॥

एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, बशः, भष्, झष-अन्तस्य, स्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवो य एकाच् झषन्तः तदवयवस्य बशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति झलि सकारे ध्वशब्दे च परतः पदान्ते च ॥

37. For the letters ब, ग, ड or द् in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in झ, भ, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively, before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from बुध्—भोत्स्यन्ते, अभुध्वम् and अर्थभुत्; from गुह्—नि घोक्ष्यते न्यघुड्वम्, पर्णघुट् ॥ गुह् becomes गुढ् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in. jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुघ् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोक्ष्यते अधुग्ध्वम्, गोधुक् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्घाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लङ्) Intensive (yań luk). There is guṇa of ऋ, the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्गर्ध्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, घ is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्घर्ध् ॥ Then the final ध् is changed to द्, अजर्घर्द् (VIII. 2. 39). Then द् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्घर्र् ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर् (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्घाः ॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a बश् and end with a झष् letter, and should be a full root or the portion (अवयव) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like गर्धप् from the Denominative root गर्दभय, by क्विप् ॥

Why do we say "a monosyllable beginning with बश् and ending with झष्?" Observe दामलिट् from the Denominative root दामलिह्य ॥ For had एकाचः not been employed in the sûtra, the word धातोः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified बशः and the sûtra would have meant "in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a बश् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such बश्", and the द of दामलिह would be changed then.

Why do we say "for a बश् letter"? Observe क्रुध्—क्रोत्स्यति here क is not changed to घ ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe दास्यति ॥ Why before स and ध्व? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why have we taken ध्व and not merely ध? Observe दाद्धि from दध् in the यङ् लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the हि being changed to धि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four भ, घ, ढ and ध, and their respective sthânins are also four, i. e. ब, ग, ड and द; so that ढ is the substitite of ड; but, as a matter of fact, ड never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ढ substitition.

दधस्तथोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधः, त, थोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विर्वचनो निर्दिश्यते। तस्य झलन्तस्य बशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकारथकारयोः परतश्चकारात् स्ध्वोश्च परतः ॥

38. For the द of दध (the reduplicated form of धा) is substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स and before ध्वम् ॥

The word दध is taken in the sûtra as the reduplicated form of धा दधाति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhuâdi class, as शप् intervenes there. By the word च we draw in the words स and ध्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धत्थः, धत्से, धत्स्व, धध्वम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sûtra, the elided अ is not

considered as sthânivat. The last sûtra could not have applied to दध for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a बश् letter, for the real reduplicate is धध, and द is merely a substitute, and is considered asiddha. 2ndly. The form दध does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel अ, and though this अ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthânivat. Hence the necessity of च in this sûtra. See coutra, the vârtika in Mahâbhâshya.

The word झलि is understood here, and so also झषन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with स or ध्व, that can come after दध् ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before स and ध्व'? Had we not used these, the sûtra would have referred to स and ध्व only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words स्ध्वोः could have been dispensed with: for before स् and ध्व, the भ change would have taken place by the last sûtra, whilst by this sûtra, the same change would have taken place before all other झल्-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after दध् are स or ध्व-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to दध then only, when it assumes the form of दध्, by the elision of आ; and hence not here दधाति ॥

**झलां जशोऽन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां जश आदेशा भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अत्र, श्वलिड् अत्र, अग्निचिद् अत्र, त्रिष्टुब् अत्र ॥ The word श्वलिड् is formed by changing the ह् of लिह् to ढ *first*, and *then* changing this ढ to ड, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sûtra to indicate that the anuvṛitti of झलि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasâna or Pause, a चर् consonant may be substituted for a झल् by VIII. 4. 56.

**झषस्तथोर्धोऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ झषः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ झष उत्तरयोस्तकारथकारयोः स्थाने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. ध is substituted for त or थ coming after झ, भ, घ, ढ or ध (jhash), but not after the root धा (दध) ॥

Thus from लभ् we have लब्धा, लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम्, अलब्ध, अलब्धाः ॥

The भ् of लभ् is changed to ब by VIII. 4. 53. From दुह्:—दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The ह is changed to घ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिह्:—लेढा, लेढुम, लेढव्यम्, अलीढ, अलीढाः ॥ In लेढ्म् &c, the ह is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and ध changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding ढ is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From बुध्:—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम, बोद्धव्यम्, अबुद्ध, अबुद्धाः ॥ For the ध of बुध् there is substituted द by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्तः, धत्थः ॥

**षढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षढोः, कः, सि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारढकारयोः ककारादेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Thus for ष of विष् we have विवेक्ष्यते, अविवेक्ष्यत्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिह् (लिढ VIII. 2. 31) we have लेक्ष्यति, अलेक्ष्यत्, लिलिक्षति ॥

For the स of the affix स्य &c, is substituted ष by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनष्टि, लेढि ॥

**रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रदाभ्याम्, निष्ठातः, नः, पूर्वस्य, च, दः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफदकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चदकारस्य ॥

42. After र and द, for the त of the Participial suffix त and तवत्, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द ॥

After र:—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द:—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

Why do we say "after र and द"? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word र here does not denote the common *sound* र, which would include ऋ also, but the consonant र ॥ But even if र् be taken a common sound-name including र् and ऋ, yet the न् change does not take place in कृत &c, because betneeen त and the र्-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound ऋ, for ऋ is sounded not like pure र्, but र्+a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त"? Observe चरितम्, हरितम् ॥ Here the त of the Nishṭhâ does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इट् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding द will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्भ्याम्, भिन्नवद्भिः ॥

In the word कार्त्तिः the descendant of कृतः the त of Nishṭhâ is immediately preceded by र्, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र् so obtained is invalid.

**संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिर्यो धातुराकारान्तो यण्वान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

**43. For the त of the Nishṭhâ there is substituted न, after a root ending in आ and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.**

Thus from द्रा we have प्रद्राणः, प्रद्राणवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ला ॥ These roots द्रा and ग्ला end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe यातः, यातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe च्युतः, च्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्यातः, निर्वातः ॥ For the roots here या and वा do not begin with a conjunct consonont, and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्या and र्वा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say "having a यण् or semi-vowel"? Observe स्नातः, स्नातवान् ॥

ल्वादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लू-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लूञ् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रभृति वृ वरण इति यावत् वृत्करणेन समापिता ल्वादयो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ॠकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्वोर्दीर्घश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूञो विनाश इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनोतेर्ग्रासकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

**44. The त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न, after the roots लू and those that follow it.**

These roots belong to Kryâdi class, and commence from लूञ् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वॄ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्या the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

*Vârt*:—After a root ending in ॠ or ॠ and after a root of Luâdi class, the त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishṭhâ. Thus कीर्णिः, गीर्णिः, शीर्णिः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कॄ (IX. 26), गॄ (IX. 28), शॄ (IX. 18), लू and पूञ् ॥

*Vârt*:—The vowel of the roots दु गतौ (Bhu. 991) and गु (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nishṭhâ which is changed to न ॥ As आदूनः, विगूनः ॥

*Vârt*:—The न change takes place after पूञ् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना यवाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूञ् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

*Vârt*:—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svâdi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो ग्रासः स्वयमेव i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बध्यमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो ग्रासो, यदा दध्यादिव्यञ्जन वशेन तमानुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाशेन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the मास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो मासो देवदत्तेन ॥

**ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेतो धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

45. The त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicatory ओ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus ओलस्जी—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओविजी—उद्विग्नः, उद्विग्नवान ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धौ:—आपीनः, आ पीनवान्॥

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सूनः, सूनवान्; दूङ्—दूनः, दूनवान्; दीङ्—दीनः, दीनवान्; डीङ्—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्, लीङ्—लीनः, लीनवान्, व्रीङ्—व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

**क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

46. The त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न, after क्षि, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus क्षीणाः क्लेशाः; क्षीणो जाल्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अक्षितमसि मामेक्षेष्ठाः ॥ The word अक्षितं is formed with क्त in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nishṭhâ being added in the sense of ण्यत्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root क्षि includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगत्योः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sâyana on अक्षितोतिः सनेदिमं वाजमिन्द्रः सहस्रिणं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj :—The form क्षियः in the sûtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षी ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षी ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षी here) is like its original (the root क्षी)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sûtra? For had the root क्षि with short इ been meant, the form would have been क्षेः ॥

Ans.—The dhâtu imitative noun though taking इयङ् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhâtu ending in short इ also, as in sûtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where क्षि ending in short इ is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयङ् augment, then why is the root ज्ञि exhibited in sûtra I. 3. 19 as जेः instead of जियः i. e. the sûtra ought to have been वि पराभ्यां जियः and not वि पराभ्यां जेः?

Ans. Here the word श्रि is not used as a dhâtu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root श्रि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the *mere form* श्रि ॥

**श्योऽस्पर्शे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्यः, अ-स्पर्शे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यायतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

**47. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न after श्यै, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.**

Thus शीनं घृतम्, शीनो मेदः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुदकम् ॥ The य् of श्या is vocalised to ई by VI. 1. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means 'cold'; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have प्रतिशीनः with न change.

The word स्पर्श is a guna word formed by घञ्, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्पृश संस्पर्शने ॥ It also denotes a disease, derived from स्पृश उपतापे ॥ There is nothing to show, what स्पर्श is meant in the sûtra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

**अञ्चोऽनपादाने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चः, अन्-अपादाने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेदपादानं तत्र भवति ॥

**48. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न, after अञ्च्, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.**

Thus समक्नौ शकुनेः पादौ = सङ्गतौ; तस्मात् पशवो न्यक्नाः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उदक्तमुदकं कूपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्जू व्यक्तिम्रक्षण कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhâ is not changed.

**दिवोऽविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

**49. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न, after दिव्, when the sense is not that of 'play'.**

The word विजिगीषा means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus आद्यूनः, = औदरिकः, परिद्यूनः = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say "when it does not mean to play"? Observe द्यूतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigîshâ) over the opponent.

**निर्वाणोऽवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पूर्वाद्वातेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते । न चेद्वाताधिकरणो वात्यर्थो भवति ॥

50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nishṭhâ त to न, when the sense is not that of 'wind'.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition निर् and the Participial affix त ॥ Thus निर्वाणो ऽग्निः,=उपशान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रदीपः, निर्वाणो भिक्षुः =उपरतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वातो वातः, निर्वातं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वातेन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above vṛitti uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात in the locative case".

शुषः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुषः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुषेर्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य ककारादेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य वकारादेशो भवति ॥

52. व is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षैधातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root क्षै ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्त्यायतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nishṭhâ त, after the root स्त्यै preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्या into स्ती, and then add त ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhâ त would have been changed to न after स्त्या by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasâraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

**अनुपसर्गात्फुल्लक्षीबकृशोल्लाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, फुल्ल-क्षीब-कृश-उल्लाघाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ फुल्ल क्षीब कृश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न चेदुपसर्गादुत्तरा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्फुल्लसंफुल्लयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. The irregular Participles फुल्ल, क्षीब, कृश and उल्लाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word फुल्ल is derived from the root ञिफला विशरणे the त is changed to ल ॥ The change of अ to उ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इट् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवतु also, as फुल्लवान् ॥

The affix त् is elided after the roots क्षीब्, कृश् and उत्—लाघ्, and the augment इट् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, कृशः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रफुल्लाः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकृशितः, प्रोल्लाघितः ॥ In the case of लाघ्, prepositions other than उत् are prohibited.

Or the augment इट् is added, and then इत् is elided from क्षीबितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vârt.*

*Vârt*:—The forms उत्फुल्लः and संफुल्लः should be enumerated. Here त is changed to ल, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकृशः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कृश्; परिगतः कृशः = परिकृशः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कृशः ॥

**नुदविदोन्दत्राघ्राह्रीभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, त्रा, घ्रा, ह्रीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द त्रा घ्रा ह्री इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

*Kârikâ*:—वेत्तेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।
विन्तेर्विन्नश्च वित्तश्च भोगे वित्तश्च विन्दते ॥

56. The Nishṭhâ त may optionally be changed to न, after नुद, विद, उन्द, त्रा, घ्रा, ह्री ॥

Thus नुन्नः or नुत्तः, विन्नः or वित्तः, समुन्नः or समुत्तः, त्राणः or त्रातः, घ्राणः or घ्रातः, ह्रीणः or ह्रीतः ॥

With regard to ह्री, the न change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. With regards to others, the न change would have *always* taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root विद विचारणे of Rudhâdi is to be taken here, and not the other विद roots. Thus the following: *Kârikâ*

The Nishthâ of विद्—वेत्ति of Adâdi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divâdi class is विन्नः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudâdi is विन्नः ; (4) of विद् of Rudhâdi are both वित्तः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudâdi विद् has also the form वित्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

**न ध्याख्यापॄमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पॄ, मूर्छि, मदाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पॄ मूर्छि मद इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishthâ त is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, पॄ, मूर्च्छ and मद ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्त्तः, पूर्त्तवान्, मूर्त्तः, मूर्त्तवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्छि is exhibited in the sûtra in its lengthened form ; the root मुर्च्छ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the च्छ is elided before त by VI. 4. 21.

**वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेर्लाभार्थादुत्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्यये चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle वित्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विदॢ लाभे of Tudâdi class, the त is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु = धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (भुज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence.*

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here वित्तः = प्रतीतः ॥' प्रतीयते = प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विन्नः ॥

**भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

59. The word भित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a fragment, a portion'.

Thus भित्तं तिष्ठति, भित्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकल ॥ The root-meaning of भिद् is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rudhi* word. The regular form is भिन्नं under VIII. 2. 42.

**ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋइत्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ण is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipâtana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is आधमर्ण्यम् or "indebtedness:"

If this is so, then the word उत्तमर्णः 'creditor' cannot be formed? This is no valid objection. For अधमर्ण is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formely received; and thus includes उत्तमर्ण also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in धारेरुत्तमर्णः (I. 4. 35).

The word ऋण we use in sentences like ऋणं ददाति, ऋणं धारयति ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe ऋतं वक्ष्यामि, नानृतम् ॥

नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्त्तसूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्दसि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त, अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्त, सूर्त्त, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratûrtta, sûrtta, gûrtta.

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषण्णः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन्द् with the negative नञ् ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (= अनुन्नम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from त्वर् or तुर्व्, as प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्णम्)॥ When it is derived from त्वर् then ऊठ् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from तुर्व् then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्त is from सृ, the ऋ is changed to ऊ irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः = सृतागावः ॥ गूर्त्त is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अमृतस्य (= गूर्णं) ॥

क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्त्तते । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विन्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातोः स क्विन्प्रत्ययः, तस्य पदस्यान्तेऽन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix क्विन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word क्विन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The sûtra could have been क्विनः कुः; the word प्रत्यय is used in the sûtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the न् of क्विन् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the क्विन् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than क्विन् ॥

Thus the roots सृज् and दृश् take क्विन् to form स्रक् and दृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो अस्राक् मानो अद्राक्, where अस्राक् and अद्राक् are the Aorist of सृज् and दृश् ॥ The augment अट् is not elided, though the मा is added ( VI. 4. 75 ) as a Vedic diversity. The ईट् augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अम् is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus अट्+सृज्+सिच्+तिप्=अस्रज् ( VI. 1. 58 )=अस्राक् (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been ष् by VIII. 2. 36. So also in दृग्भ्यां, दृग्भिः, the श् is changed to a guttural, though the noun दृश् is a क्विप् formed noun and not formed by क्विन्; and this is so, because the verb दृश् does take क्विन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रज्जुसृड्भ्यां from the root सृज् with क्विप्? Ans. The guttural change however in not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ज is changed to ग, and श to ख, which both become क by वावसाने ( VIII. 4. 56 )

नशेर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येति वर्त्तते ॥ नशेः पदस्य वा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

63. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. As सा वै जीवनडाहुतिः (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or सा वै जीवनगाहुतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitâ.

Here the root नश has taken क्विप् in denoting 'condition or state';by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

जीवस्य नाशः = जीवनक् or जीवनट् ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the ष् change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ष् change takes place, this ष् is changed to ड् by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य क्विझलोः क्ङितीतिदीर्घत्वम् ॥

64. न is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, प्रतान्, प्रदान् ॥ These are formed by adding क्विप् to the roots शम्, तम् and दम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of म-ending roots"? Observe भित्, छित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इदम्, किम् ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशामौ, प्रशामः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्वोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, वोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारादेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and व ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम ॥ The शप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with क्वसु, the augment इट् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sûtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sûtra.

ससजुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सजुषोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सजुष् इत्येतस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the ष् of सजुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरत्र, वायुरत्र ॥ So also सजूर्ऋतुभिः, सजूर्देवेभिः ॥ सजुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्विप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यज् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाश् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाज् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाज् are formed. These words take the affix डस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vârtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken डस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipâtana, when रु would have come by the last sûtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उकूथशाः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य पदस्य रुर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अह्नो रुविधौ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरेषूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sûtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निदाघः, हे दीर्घाहोऽत्रेति ॥ See Vârtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sûtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

*Vârt*:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्ददाति, अहर्भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this रु-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्ददाति and अहर्भुङ्क्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya-lakshaṇa, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratya lakshana does not apply to the substitution of र for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by सुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya-lakshaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽत्र, हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अम्नरूधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसोराजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिषूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ûdhas, and avas.

Thus अम्न एव or अम्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by य् by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अम्नस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

*Vârt* :—रु and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

*Vârt* :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहः पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गीः पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धूः पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृतेश्छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahâ-vyâhṛiti.

Thus भुवरित्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahâ - vyâhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyâhriti denoting the firmament. The other two are भू: and स्व: ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahâ-vyâhṛiti ? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु यज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect ( लङ् ) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अट् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, स्रंसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ससजुषोरुरित्यतः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य पदस्य सकारान्तस्य स्रंसु ध्वंसु अनडुह् इत्येतेषां च दकारादेशो भवति ॥

72. द् is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of स्रंस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह् at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As स्रंस् and ध्वंस् *always* end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनडुह् ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्वद्भ्याम्, विद्वद्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. स्रंस्:—उखास्रद्भ्याम्, उखास्रद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वंस्—पर्णध्वद्भ्याम्, पर्णध्वद्भिः ॥ अनडुह्—अनडुद्भ्याम्, अनडुद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to द् ॥

In the case of वस्, the द is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्वद्भ्यां this द debars रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनड्वान् the न् is not changed to द्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to द्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to द्, and we should get the form अनड्वाद् by this rule without नुम् ॥

*Obj*:—If this be so, that the नुम् is not changed to द, because of giving it a scope, then in अनड्वान् अत्र, this नुम् should not be changed into रु by VIII. 3. 9?

*Ans*:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (यं विधिं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्बाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ बाध्यते) ॥ With regard to द change, the नुम् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वांसौ and विद्वांसः ॥

**तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्दकार आदेशो भवति ॥**

73. द् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचकाद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चकास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चकास् formed by क्विप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्म् आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईट् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

**सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति दकारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् त्वम् or अचकात् त्वम्, अन्वशास् त्वम् or अन्वशात् त्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjanîya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sûtra for the sake of the subsequent sûtras: so also the word रु ॥

**दश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति दकारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् त्वम् or अभिनस् त्वम्, अच्छिनत् त्वम् or अच्छिनस् त्वम् ॥

**र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ र्वोः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or व् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् ॥ Of roots ending in व्, examples will be given in the next sûtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अबिभर् भवान्, here the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of भ in the above example अबिभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore इ and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

**हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, दीव्यति, सीव्यति ending in व् ॥

The phrase "of the *root*", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the *nouns* दिव and चतुर i. e. दिवमिच्छति = दिव्यतिं, and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यंत, भव्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada: but to cases where र् or व् are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ यौ रेफवकारौ हल्परौ तयोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or व् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or व् as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्छा, हूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता. तूर्वी, तूर्विता. धूर्वी, धूर्विता ॥

The र् or व् must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

*Q.*—Why there is not lengthening in रिर्यतुः, रिर्युः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyâsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

*Ans.*—The यण् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthânivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or व् is considered as *not* to be followed by a *consonant*, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the यण् substitute is taught in angâdhikâra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence यणादेशः is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and व् are not followed by a consonant (for य् is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्यितृ formed with तृच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्य ॥ Here इट् is added before तृच् as चतुर्य + इ + तृ and then अ is elided, चतुर्य् + इ + तृ ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिदीव्ना (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिव् is added कनिन् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added टा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + आ, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिदीव्ना ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthânivat, and so व् becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthânivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

*Q.*—Well, let it not be sthânivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

*Ans.*—The maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे should not be applied here: because it is an *anitya* rule.

The word जिव्रिः is formed by the Uṇâdi affix क्विन् added to the root जॄ (जिर्), the र् being changed to व (Uṇ V. 49). So also किरिः and गिरिः are formed by the Uṇâdi affix कि added to कॄ and गॄ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is किर्योः and गिर्योः ॥ There is no lengthening in जिव्रिः, किर्योः and गिर्योः, on the maxim that the Uṇâdi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

**न भकुर्छुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर्, छुराम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर् छुर् इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥**

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर् and छुर् ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV. 4. 77 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Similarly कुर्यात्, छुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of छुर् छेदने ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रतिदीव्ना, प्रतिदीव्ने ॥ For here the stem which ends in व् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in न् ॥

**अदसो ऽसेर्दादु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य दात्परस्य उवर्णादेशो भवति दकारस्य च मकारः ॥**

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अदसो ऽनोत्र इति वक्तव्यम् ॥**

*Kârikâ:*—अदसोद्रे पृथङ् मुत्वं के चिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।
के चिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमुम्, अमू, अमून्, अमुना, अमुष्याम्, ॥ अद is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sûtra read with I. 1. 50, अमु is substituted for अद and अमू for अदा ॥ The उ which replaces one-mâtrâ vowel will be one-mâtrâ उ i. e. short उ, and the ऊ which replaces a two-mâtrâ vowel will be a two-mâtrâ ऊ i. e. long ऊ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद इच्छति = अदस्यति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word पदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix क्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the मु change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अमुमुय ॥

*Vârt:*—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स् or र् ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽत्र, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjanîya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in र् ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and र् also, some explain the sûtra thus:—अः सेर्यस्य सोयमासिः, यत्र सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sûtra is a Bahuvrîhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sûtra is thus confined to the form अद derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद्रि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अञ्चु takes क्विन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽञ्चति ॥ अदस् + अञ्च + क्विन् = अद् + अद्रि + अञ्चु + क्विन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदद्र्यच् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the द of अद, and द of अद्रि are both changed to मु by the present sûtra; (2), the first द is not changed, but only द; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अमुमुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अमुमुयञ्चौ, अमुमुयञ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अदमुयङ् अदमुयञ्चौ, अदमुयञ्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्र्यङ्, अदद्र्यञ्चौ, अदद्र्यञ्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

" Some ordain that मु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीक्लृप्यते); others would have मु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for द); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sûtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102. " The first class interpret असेः by " that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवति " when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final. " The second class apply this maxim and make मु change only for द which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयम् असिः) ॥

Why do we say दात् 'for the vowel after द'? Observe अमुया, अमुयोः, the final य as not changed to उ ॥

एत ईद्बहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो दकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति दकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहूनामर्थानामुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द् of अदस्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अते) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेषु ॥ द is changed to म in अते &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sûtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन; for that would have made the sûtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य टेरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतत्त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्तेः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pâda), is always to be supplied : "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pâda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śûdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śûdra". As अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं । भो आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्ता३ ॥

One adhikâra sets aside another adhikâra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikâra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikâra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikâra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the न् would be required to be changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word "vâkya" would not debar the anuvritti of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sûtra?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sûtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sûtra been पदस्य टेः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word टि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निचि३त् ॥ Had टि not been used, the rule would have applied to words *ending* in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शूद्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादो नाम यदभिवाद्यमानो गुरुराशिषं प्रयुङ्क्ते। तत्राशूद्रविषये यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूयकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अभिवादवाक्ये यत संकीर्त्तितं नाम गोत्रं वा तद् यत्र प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्र प्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोराजन्य विशां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śûdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udâtta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śûdra.

Thus अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्ता३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śûdra? Observe अभिवादये तुषजकोऽहं is said by a Śûdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुषजक!

*Vârt*:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं is said by Gârgî. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गि! ॥

*Vârt*:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवादये स्थाल्यहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthâlin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthâlin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a स्थाल or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says: असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि; भिद्यस्व वृषल स्थालिन्! ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun: i. e. "burst thou, O sinner! like unto a cooking pot (sthâlin = sthalî-vat).

*Ishti*:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

*Vârt*:—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादये इन्द्रवर्म्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ॥ Vaishya: अभिवादये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru: आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित! ॥

**दूराद्धूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति स चोदात्तः ॥

इष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता३ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता३ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sûtra.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता३, पलायस्व देवदत्ता३ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त!

*Ishti*:—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

**हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हैहेप्रयोगे दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As है ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥ हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥

The repetition of the words है and हे in the sûtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when है and हे do not stand at the end of a sentence.

**गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अनृ-ऋतः, अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्त्यस्यापिशब्दादन्त्यस्यापि टेरेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्त्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sûtra indicates a special sthânin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus दे३वदत्त or देवद३त्त or देवदत्त३ ॥ Similarly with य३ज्ञदत्त, यज्ञद३त्त or यज्ञदत्त ३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व and ज्ञ in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्णमि३त्र, कृष्णमित्र३, but never कृ३ष्णमित्र ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not दे३वद३त्त३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sûtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sûtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali "सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः" (Mahabhâshya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sâhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

**ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओम्शब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओ३म् अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतदक्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

**ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्मणि प्लुतो भवति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ ये यजामहे इत्यत्रैवायंप्लुत इष्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये३यजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामहे इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

*Ishti:*—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवासो दिव्येकादशस्थ (Rig. I. 139. 11).

**प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, टेः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि टेः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओ३म् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (टि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pâda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रेतांसि जिन्वतो३म् ॥ So also for देवान् जिगाति सुम्नयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवान् जिगाति सुम्नयो३म् ॥

The word टि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had टि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य the final *letter* only of the टि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुम्नयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्याकाण्डे पठ्यन्ते मन्त्रास्तेषामन्त्यो षटिः स प्लवते यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yâjya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्नये३ (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहा३म् (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yâjya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (टि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रौषड्वौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषट्, वौषट्, आवहानाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रौषट् वौषट् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषट्, वौषट् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्नयेऽनुब्रू३हि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्नये गोमयानि ( or °न् ) प्रे३ष्य, अस्तु श्रौ३षट्; सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३षट्, अग्निमा३वह ॥

So also in पितृभ्यामनुस्व३धा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्व३धा ॥ The word वौषट् is illustrative of the six forms वषट्, वौषट्, वाषट्, वौक्षट्, वाक्षट्, वक्षाट् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् यजमानाय ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीध्, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीधः प्रेषणमग्नीत्प्रेषणम् तत्रादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Âgnîdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgâtâ, Hotâ, Brahmâ. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them : as shown below.

| NAMES OF PRINCIPAL. | SUBORDINATE. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ½. | ⅓. | ¼. |
| Adhvaryu : (Yajur) | Pratiprasthâtâ | Nesṭhâ (VI.4.11) | Unnetâ. |
| Udgâtâ (Sâman) | Prastotâ | Pratihartâ | Subrahmanya. |
| Hotâ (Rig) VI. 4. 11. | Maitrâ varuṇa | Achchhâvâk | Potâ (VI.4.11). |
| Brahmâ (Atharvan) | Brâhmanâchhaṅsî | Âgnîdhra | Grâvastuta. III. 2. 177. |

The duty of Ágnîdhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Ágnîdhra to perform the functions of Ágnîdh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीत् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् "a call or summon relating to Agnîdhduty."

Thus आ ३ श्रा ३ वय, ओ ३ श्रा ३ वय ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर ; बर्हि स्तृणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunvṛitti of the word विभाषा from the next sûtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction ( viyavasthita vibhâshâ ). Others say "all pluta rules are optional" (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उक्षर ३ उक्षर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' ( यज्ञकर्मणि ) are understood here also. Therefore not in ओ श्रावय ॥

**विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥**

**93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.**

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त ? Ans. अकार्षं ही३ or अकार्षं हि ॥ Q. अलावीः केदारं देवदत्त ? Ans. अलाविषं ही३ or हि ॥

Why do we say "in answer to a question"? Observe कटं करिष्यति हि ॥

Why do we say हेः "of हि"? Observe करोमि ननु ॥

**निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रच्यावनं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥**

**94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.**

The word निग्रह: means the refutation of anothers opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुयोग: is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of anothers assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sûtra literally means "Having refuted (it) when asserting ( the same by way of censure )."

Thus an opponent asserts that "The word is not eternal." (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यात्थाँ३ or अनित्य शब्द इत्यात्थ ॥ 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अद्य श्राद्धमित्यात्थाँ३ or अद्य श्राद्धमित्यात्थ ॥ अद्यामावास्येत्यात्थाँ३ or अद्यामावास्येत्यात्थ ॥

In some texts of Kâsikâ, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

**आम्रेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्रेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विर्वचनमुक्तं तस्याम्रेडितं प्लवते ॥**

**वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥**

95. The end syllable of an âmreḍita Vocative is pluta, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes pluta. Thus चौर चौर३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषल३ बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, दस्यो दस्यो३ &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of the sûtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not pluta, but of the âmreḍita.

*Vârt*:—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be pluta by alternation. Thus चौर३ चौर or चौर चौर३ ॥ The word âmṛeḍita is employed in the sûtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so pluta may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically âmredita.

**अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङ्, आकाङ्क्षम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने प्लवते ॥**

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes pluta, when the word अङ्ग is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूज३ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ अङ्ग व्याहर३, इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देवदत्त मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word भर्त्सने of the last sûtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्व, ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. 1. 33).

**विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥**

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is pluta, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called vichâra or judgment. Thus होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहा३ इ न होतव्या३म् "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेद्यूपा३इ, अनुप्रहरे

यूपा३इ ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether यूपे तिष्ठेत् or यूपे अनुप्रहरेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamâna. किं यूपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा यूपं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

**पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव प्लवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sûtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि र्नु३ रज्जुर्नु 'Is it a snake or a rope'? लोष्टो र्नु३ कपोतोनु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

**प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तथाविशेषात्सर्वस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sûtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे देहि भोः, 1. हन्त ते ददामि३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति३ ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमात्थ३ ॥

**अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अभि पूजितयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudâtta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sûtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudâtta.

Thus अगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् ग्रामा३न् अग्निभूता३इ or अगम३ः पूर्वा३न् ग्रामा३न् पटा३उ ( i. e. अगमः पूर्वान् ग्रामान् अग्निभूते or पटो ) ॥ The words अग्निभूते, and पटो being finals in a

question, become anudâtta as well as pluta. The other words भगम: &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवका३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudâtta and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य टेरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudâtta and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sûtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचिद् भाया३त् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भाया३त् 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आहुः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि र्माणवको भायात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य टेरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudâtta and pluta.

The word anudâtta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sûtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासी३त्, उपरि स्विदासी३त् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udâtta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudâtta by the present sûtra.

स्वरितमाम्रेडितेऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आम्रेडिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आम्रेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमाने ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sûtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy :—माणवका३ माणवक, अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूप्यम् ॥ Praise :—

माणवकां३ माणवक, अभिरूपकां३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger:—माणवकां३ माणवक, अविनीतकां३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्म ॥ Blame:—शाक्तीकां३ शाक्तीक, याष्टीका३ याष्टीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

*Vârt:*—The word "optionally" should be read into this sûtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

**क्षियाशीःप्रैषेषु तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशीः, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्-आकाङ्क्षम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरित इति वर्त्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गम्यमानेषु तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं वाक्यस्य स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word 'svarita" is understood here. The word क्षिया means 'the error in usage' or 'want of good breeding'. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means 'benediction'. प्रैषः means 'order' or 'commanding by words'.

Thus (1) स्वयं रथेन याति३, उपाध्यायं पदातिं गमयति ॥ स्वयं ओदनं भुङ्क्ते३, उपाध्यायं सक्तून् पाययति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction:—सुतांश्च लप्सीष्ठा३ धनं च तात; छन्दोऽध्येषीष्ठा३ व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order:—कटं कुरु३ ग्रामं च गच्छ; यवान् लुनीहि३, सक्तूंश्च पिब ॥

Why do we say "when it requires another sentence as its complement"? Observe दीर्घं ते आयुरस्तु; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

**अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आख्यानयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अन्त्यस्यापि पदस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्ने आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word 'padasya' is understood here: and so also the word 'svarita'. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have:—आगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् ग्रामा३न् अग्नि भूता३इ or पटा३उ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100, as shown under that sûtra. The force of the word अपि in the sûtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sûtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sûtra with regard to question.

In *âkhyâna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and pluta *necessarily*, by the force of this sûtra. Thus अगमा३म् पूर्वा३न् ग्रामा३न् भो३: ॥

Another view of this sûtra is that the word अपि applies only to âkhyâna, so that in âkhyâna *all* words become svarita. But in prasna, the final word will not become svarita, but anudâtta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sûtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kâsikâ, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

**प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्धूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तदवयवभूतावि दुतौ प्लुतौ ॥**

**106. In forming the pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the pluta.**

The pluta ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sûtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means "इ and उ are pluta of the diphthongs ऐ and औ" ॥

Thus ऐ३तिकायन, औ३पगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the pluta of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sûtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mâtra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mâtrâ, then the pluta इ and उ will have two mâtrâs, so that the whole pluta ऐ and औ will have *three* mâtrâs. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ प्लवेते i. e. वृद्धिं गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mâtrâs. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mâtrâ, then the pluta of इ and उ will have *two* mâtrâs as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ए) and अ+उ (ओ) are considered to have अ *half* mâtra, and इ and उ one mâtrâ and a half, then इ and उ are made pluta, so as to have two and a half (2½) mâtrâs each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mâtrâs. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mâtrâs: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mâtrâs.

But according to Patanjali, this pluta of ऐ and औ has *four* mâtrâs. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mâtrâ. The pluta of इ and उ will have

*three* mâtrâs. Thus अ+इ३ and अ+उ३. or the *whole* has *four* mâtrâs. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mâtrâs also.

**एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्धूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य इत्, उतौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्येकारोकारावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥विषयपरिगणनं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा०॥ प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाज्यान्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ आमन्त्रिते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, aud for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or ओ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

*Vârt*:—The scope of this sûtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

*Vârt*:—It should be stated that it applies to sûtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् ग्रामा३न् अग्निभूता३इ ॥ or पटा३उ ॥ भद्रं करोषि माणवका३ अग्निभूता३इ or पटा३उ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहा३इ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्मान् एधि अग्निभूता३इ or पटा३उ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षान्नाय वशान्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।
स्तोमै र्विधेमाग्नया३इ ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udâtta, anudâtta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudâtta or svarita, and every where else, udâtta. The इ and उ are of course, always udâtta: because the anuvṛitti of udâtta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sûtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा आगच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sûtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्धूते in the sûtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sûtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the *end* of a pada. Therefore, not here, भद्रं करोषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanâmasthâna affix स is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Pragṛhya'? Observe शोभने खलु स्थः खट्वे३ ॥

*Vârt* :—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्ना३इ पत्नीवा३ः सजूर्देवेन त्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्य्वावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरिदुतोर्यकारवकारादेशौ भवतो ऽचि संहितायां विषये ॥

*Kârikâ*:—किं तु यणा भवतीह न सिद्धं य्वाविदुतोर्यदयं विदधाति ।
तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलदीर्घविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥
इक तु यदा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य यणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।
तेन तयोश्च न शाकलदीर्घौ यण्स्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य् and व् when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikâra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitâ.

Thus अग्ना३याशा, पटा३वाशा, अग्ना३यिन्द्रम्, पटा३वुदकम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्ना३इ, पटा३उ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्ना३ इ इन्द्रम्, पटा३उ उदकम् in Pada Pâṭha.

This sûtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vârtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घ बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vârtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sûtra ought to be made, in order to prevent यण् accent (VIII. 2. 4).

*Kârikâ* :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the यणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achârya has taught this separate य् and व् substitution?

*Ans.*—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñâpaka in sûtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sâkala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vârtika which ordains that यणादेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vârtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sûtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sûtra is to prevent the यण्-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vârtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As भो३ इ इन्द्र = भो३ यिन्द्र ॥ Here इ is a Nipâta.

ओ३म् ।

# अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

## BOOK EIGHTH.

### CHAPTER THIRD.

**मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥** पदानि ॥ मतु, वसोः, रु, सबुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च पदस्य रुरित्ययमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्भगवदघवतामोच्चावस्य ॥

1. For the final of the affixes **मत्** and **वस्**, there is substituted **रु**, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into र्, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत्:—इन्द्र मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो मेदिनं त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वत् and हरिवः of हरिवत्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म of मत् is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of नुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to र् by this sûtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस्:—मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाह्वः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीढ्वान्, साह्वान् with क्वसु ॥

Why do we say 'of मत् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोष्यामः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गोमन्, हे पयिवन् ॥

*Vârt*:—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes क्वनिप् and वनिप् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding क्वनिप् to the root इ (इण्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

*Vârt* :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अव् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhâshâ. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the âchârya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ, भो देवदत्तयज्ञदत्त विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikâra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sûtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sûtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vârtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no रु change in हरिवो मे &c.

**अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् । इत उत्तरं यस्य स्थाने रुर्विधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥**

2. In the following sûtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sûtra VIII. 3. 5 says "In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सुट् augment follows". The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as सँस्कर्त्ता, सँस्कर्तुम्, सँस्कर्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sûtra? It means "*here* i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion". Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikâra sûtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikâra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those *beyond* the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

**आतोटि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अटि परतो रोः पूर्वस्याकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥**

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for आ before रु, when it is followed by a letter of अट् pratyâhâra (i. e, when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches रु substitution of न्, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sûtra. The present sûtra makes it necessarily so. Thus महाँ असि (Rig. III. 46. 2) महाँ इन्द्रो य ओजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). देवाँ अच्छादीध्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittariyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe ये वा वनस्पतींरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवांश्चरति, भवांश्छादयति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sûtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

**अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥**
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वः यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार आगमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches रु substitution of the म् of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches रु substitution of the म् of पुम् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुंस्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches रु substitution of final न् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sûtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

**समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥**
वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य रुर्भवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमेके ॥

5. रु is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment सुट् follows, in a samhitâ.

The augment सुट् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सँस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता, सँस्कर्तुम or संस्कर्तुम्, सँस्कर्त्तव्यम् or संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम्+स+कर्ता=सरु+स+कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires ˎ to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance : but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sûtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sûtra is समः स्सुटि with two स्, and the sûtra will mean, "रु is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुट्, and this रु is always changed to स्" ॥

Why do we say "for the म् of सम्"? Observe उपस्कर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "before सुट्"? Observe संकृति ॥

*Vârt* :—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स ॥ There would arise anomalies, if रु be substituted. Thus संस्कर्त्ता, पुंस्कामा, कांस्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vârtika, रु is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

*Vârt* :— समो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स after सम ॥ This *Vârtika* is not given in the Kâsikâ, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahâbhâshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus सँस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्स्कर्त्ता, संस्स्कर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स, as सँस्स्स्कर्ता or संस्स्स्कर्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता and सँस्स्स्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vârtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled : and thus with one त, two त and three त, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled $(2 \times 54 = 108)$ when अण् is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुमित्येतस्य रुर्भवति अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. रु is substituted for the म of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to उँ or उं) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

Thus पुँस्कामा or पुंस्कामा; पुँस्पुत्रः or पुंस्पुत्रः; पुँस्फलं or पुंस्फलम्; पुँश्चली or पुंश्चली ॥ The visarga in पुंस्कामा required to be changed optionally to × jihvâmûlîya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुंस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is म्, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pâṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुम् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुम् is the real stem in composition. खय् pratyâhâra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyâhâra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुंस्कामा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sûtra as समःसुटि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sûtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of रु is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंदासः, पुंगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंक्षीरः, पुंक्षुरः ॥ Why do we use the word परे in the sûtra? Had we not used it, the sûtra might have been open to this construction also. The म् of पुम् is so changed before a खय् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

**नश्छव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य रुर्भवत्यम्परे छवि परतः ॥**

7. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sûtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sûtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवाँश्छादयति or भवांश्छादयति; भवाँश्चिनोति or भवांश्चिनोति; भवाँष्टीकते or भवांष्टीकते, (from the root टीकि 'to go'), भवाँस्तरति or भवांस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छव् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशाम् छादयति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छव्'? See भवान् त्सरुकः ॥ त्सरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called त्सरुकः (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्क्षु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋक्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य छविपरतः अम्परं उभयथा ऋक्षु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sûtra, by which the रु substitution was compulsory. A word ending in न् followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by अम्, changes its final न् to र् *optionally* in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes न् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् त्वा दधाति or तस्मिँस् त्वा दधाति ; पशूँस्तांश्चक्रे ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तांस्त्वं खाद सुखादितान् ॥

दीर्घादटि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवत्यटि परतस्तौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 रु is optionally substituted for that final न् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of ल), when these (न् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋक्षु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकपाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pâda of the verse. Thus परिधीँ रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवाँ एहवक्षति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवाँ अच्छादीध्यत् ; महाँ इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहन्नहिम् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or य, व or र'? Observe इन्द्रान् क्षयिवान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pâda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्पृशः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sûtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and न् remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् हवामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नॄन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नॄन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नॄनित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पशब्दे परतः ॥

10. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नॄन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नॄँः पाहि or नॄंः पाहि ; नॄँः प्रीणीहि or नॄंः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before प्'? Observe नॄन् भोजयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of उभयथा into this sûtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नॄन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नॄन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुशब्दे परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतवाँः पायुरग्ने (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix असुन् (स्वन्तवो यस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्रेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्रेडिते ॥
वृत्ति ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्रेडिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sûtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्रेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus काँस्कान् आमन्त्रयते, काँस्कान् भोजयति; or कांस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is किं asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कादि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sûtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of समः सुटि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sûtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sûtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकारे लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ढ् when ढ् follows.

Though this sûtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पदाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ढ is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिह्+त ॥ The ह is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिढ्+ढ ॥ The first ढ् is elided by this sûtra. Similarly मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥ The change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

*Obj*:—It will find scope before that ढ which is primary, as in अलिढ्+ढौकते, where ढ of ढौकते is primary.

*Ans.*—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ड् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be अलिड् ढौकते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavâda to जश्त्व rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &c. For the जश् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जश्त्व will take place first. Moreover in लिड्+ढ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sûtra. But in श्वलिड् ढौकते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamânantaryam) between ड् and ढ्, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ढ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore *doubly* asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the जश् rule. So when ढ् is changed to ड् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्वलिड्, then there remains no sort of ânantarya—neither of śruti nor of śâstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफस्य रेफे परतो लोपो भवति ॥

## 14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sûtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sûtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निर् and दुर्; and अग्नी रथः, and इन्दू रथः where it is रु (अग्निः रथः, इन्दुः रथः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेफ is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेफ which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthâna-shashṭhî, then रेफ would qualify पद, and the rule would mean "र् should be elided before a र् when at the *end* of a word." ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्घर्द् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपास्पाः from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the शप् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ध् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39, and this द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो ऽवसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

## 15. The Visarjanîya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

Tha word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षश्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), प्लक्षश्छादयति, वृक्षस्तरति, प्लक्षस्तरति वृक्षष्ठकारः, प्लक्षष्ठकारः, वृक्षष्टीकते, प्लक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, प्लक्षश्चिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; प्लक्षः ॥

Who do we say "before a खर् consonant or at a Pause"? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, नार्कुटः (नृ कुक्यां भवः), नार्पत्यः (नृपतेरपत्यं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthâna-sashṭhî, so that for the final र् of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

**रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रु इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पयःसु, सर्पिःषु, यशःसु ॥ The word सुप् is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sûtra also; the making of this a special sûtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only रु becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, धूर्षु, when the र् is not रु ॥ In पयस् &c, the स् becomes रु by VIII. 2. 66.

**भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अवर्णपूर्वस्य च रो रेफस्य यकारादेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the रु called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अत्र, भगो अत्र, अघो अत्र, भो ददाति, भगो ददाति, अघो ददाति ॥ क आस्ते, कय आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा ददाति, पुरुषा ददाति ॥ The य is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With य, the forms will be भोयत्र, भगोयत्र, अघोयत्र ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरत्र, वायुरत्र ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyâhâra'? Observe वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitâ (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

*Ans.*—If this be so, then अश् is employed in this sûtra for the sake of subsequent sûtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यत्व of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् serves no purpose in this sûtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृश्चति = वृक्षवृट् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विष् will be वृक्षव् as in वृक्षव् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अशि qualifies हलि ॥

*Obj.*—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say झशि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

*Ans.*—The word हल् is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had झशि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अशि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्षव् करोति ॥

This sutra applies to रु called र्, therefore not here प्रातरत्र, पुनरत्र ॥

**व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोभगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अशि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Sâkaṭâyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयत्र, भगोयत्र, अघोयत्र, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः, द्वावत्र or द्वा अत्र, द्वावानय or द्वा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna-tara. In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

**लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोरवर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाशि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śâkalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावत्र or द्वा अत्र, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Śâkalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sûtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व् and य् and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sûtra compulsorily.

**ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन अशि परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gârgya, before an अश् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus भो अत्र, भगो अत्र, भो इदम्, भगो इदम् ॥

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhâshâ rule. The name of Gârgya is used simply *honoris causa* ( pujârtha ). The elision of laghu-prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara य् does come also. As भो अत्र or भोयत्र, भगो अत्र or भगोयत्र, अघो अत्र and अघोयत्र ॥

According to others every kind of य् ( whether heavy or light ) is to be elided: and भोयत्र is not valid in their opinion.

**उञि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञि, च पदे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः य्वोः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उञि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् ( preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उञ्, and not the उञ्, which is a root obtained by the samprasârana of वेञ् ॥ Thus स उ एकविंशतिः, स उ एकाग्निः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे "उ when it is a pada" ? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasârana as तन्वे उतं = तन्वयुतम् ॥ Obj. उञ् could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasârana of वेञ् is उ, the ञ् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakshana-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

*Ans* :—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sûtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that ङुट् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double ङ् in परमदण्डिना॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पदान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

22. (The य् preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of व् and य् both is present here, yet we have taken य only to the exclusion of व् ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is य् only, and never व्; and व् can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षव् करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here व् is not elided, because the word अशि qualifies the word हलि of this sûtra.

*Q.*—But व् should be elided in वृक्षव् हसति, because ह is an अश् letter.

*Ans.*—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sûtra लण् says that no *words* can end in ह्, य्, र्, व् or ल् ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षव् is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मोऽनुस्वारः ॥ २३॥ पदानि ॥ मः,अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पदान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसतिं, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sûtra. Therefore not here, त्वमत्र, किमत्र ॥ The म् must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः,च,अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारादेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, यशांसि, सर्पींषि, धनूंषि with न् (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आक्रंस्यते, अधिजिगांसते with म् ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् भुङ्क्ष्व ॥ Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः क्वौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, क्वौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतौ क्विप्प्रत्ययान्ते परतः ॥

25. म is substituted for the म of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सम्राट्, साम्राज्यम् ॥ The substitution of म for म is for the sake of preventing the anusvâra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40 Vârt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राट् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with क्विप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III. 2. 61, the ज् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ट् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by ष्यञ् affix, as it belongs to Brâhmanâdi class.

**हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारे मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवलपरे यवला वा ॥

26. म् is optionally substituted for म्, before ह, which itself is followed by a म ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvâra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह्म ॥ Thus किं or किम् ह्मलयति, 'what does be cause to shake'? कथं ह्मलयति or कथम्ह्मलयति ॥

*Vart*:—Before ह्य, ह्व, and ह्ल, the preceding म् may be changed to य, व or ल respectively. Thus किं ह्यः or किय्ँ ह्यः, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? किं ह्वलयति or किव्ँ ह्वलयति 'what does he cause to shake'? किं ह्लादयति or किल्ँ ह्लादयति 'what gladdens'.

**नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्न; as किम् ह्नुते or किं ह्नुते 'what withholds'. कथन्ह्नुते or कथं ह्नुते ॥

**ङ्णोः कुक्टुक् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ् णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकारयोः पदान्तयोः कुक् टुग् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final ङ्, and the augment ट् to a final ण्, before a śibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राङ्क् शेते, or प्राङ् शेते; प्राङ्क् षष्ठः or प्राङ् षष्ठः, प्राङ्क् साये or प्राङ् साये ॥ वण्ट् शेते or वण् शेते ॥

The augments are कुक् and टुक् with an indicatory क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राङ्क् छेते also. This छ change of श would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

ष् of शते ; because in शश्छोटि (VIII. 4. 63) the झय् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to श of शेते, as क्शेते, here too श follows a झय् letter, but this झय् letter (क्) is not at the *end* of a pada, so श will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus श is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरप्शिन् though प् is a झय् letter. पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरप्शिन् ॥ विरप्शिन्=महत्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root रप्, with the Uṇâdi affix शिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राङ् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as क्साये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राङ् क्षाये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ट् साये, the स् is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had ट् been the augment of साये, as ट्साये, then there would have been the change of स् to ष् by VIII. 4. 41.

ङ: सि धुट् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ड:, सि धुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डकारान्तात्परादुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in ड्, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus श्वलिट् त्साये or श्वलिट् साये, मधुलिट् त्साये or मधुलिट् साये ॥

The word ड: is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुट् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष्टु change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्वलिट्त् + साये = श्वलिट्ट्साये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्वलिट् त्साये ॥ For the ह of श्वलिह् is ढ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ड् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध of the augment, त is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ड् there is ट् by the same rule.

नश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न:, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तात्परादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुट् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् त्साये, महान् त्साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ध् of the augment becomes त् by VIII. 4. 55. This त् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to रु by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुट् and not तुट् ॥ In sûtra VIII. 3. 29 तुट् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kâśikâ, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to रु here, because न् is followed

by स् which is not an अम् letter. The word अम्परे is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तुट् would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पदान्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाञ्छ् च्छेते ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into छ ॥ In fact, the augment धुट् added to the second would have been as good as तुक्, namely both are त ; but then छ change would not have taken place.

*Obj.*—If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तुक् is added to it, in कुर्वञ्छ् च्छेते ॥

*Ans.*—This is to be thus explained. The sûtra स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः श्चुना, which will mean that स and तु followed by श and चु will not cause the change of न to ण ॥ The next sûtra will be श्चुः, which will mean that the preceding स and तु are changed to श and चु respectively.

ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ङमुट्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वात्परो यो ङम् तदन्तात्पदादुत्तरस्याचो ङमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ङणनेभ्यो यथासंख्यं ङणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in ङ्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ङ्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ङमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ङमः ; and ङम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ङमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sûtras. ङम् is a pratyâhâra meaning ङ, ण and न ; and so also ङमुट् is a pratyâhâra containing the three augments ङुट्, णुट् and नुट् ॥

In other words ङ् is augment after ङ्, ण् after ण् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ङुट् is the augment after a word ending in ङ्, as प्रत्यङ्ङास्ते ॥ णुट् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as

वणणास्ते ॥ नुट् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नवोचत्, कृषन्नास्ते, कृषन्नवोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ण or न'? See त्वमास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe प्राङास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhâshya thus comments on this aphorism :—

*Vârt*:—ङमुटि पदादिग्रहणम् "The ङमुट् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in दण्डिन् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुट् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vârtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदात् is understood here: so नुट् will not come in दण्डिना ॥ But then it will come in परमदण्डिन् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet दण्डिन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakshaṇa; and hence there should be नुट् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. दण्डिन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakshaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमदण्डिन् the word दण्डिन् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the *end* here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in दधिसेचौ, the second member सेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पदाद्योः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदात् governs this sûtra. But the anuvṛitti of पदात् ceased with VIII. I. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vârtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sûtra. So that the sûtra means अजादौ पदे ङमुड् भवति ॥ "The augment ङमुट् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case-affix आ in दण्डिना ॥

**मय उञो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञः, वः, वा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उञो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

**33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and ञ), and is followed by a vowel.**

Thus शमु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्वस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्वस्य रेतः, किम् उ आवपनम् or किम्वावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragṛihya by I. I. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व being considered asiddha, the म is not changed to anusvâra in किम्वावपनम, शम्वस्तु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this व is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणादेश (VI. 1. 77), or to व् by the present sûtra. In the case of यणादेश व्, there is anusvâra by VIII. 3. 23, as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sûtra as किम्विति or किमु इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the वँ will be nasal: as किम्वँिति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किम ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

**विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्ज्जनियस्य, सः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षश्छादयति, प्लक्षश्छादयति, वृक्षष्ठकारः, प्लक्षष्ठकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, प्लक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षश्चिनोति, प्लक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षष्टीकते, प्लक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, प्लक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sûtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, प्लक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाम् governs this sûtra; so the स् change will be in Sanhitâ only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvritti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

**शर्प्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानी ॥ शर्प्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrîhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शशाः क्षुरम्, पुरुषः क्षुरम्, अद्भिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम्, पुरुषः त्सरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Though the sûtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvâmulîya and upadhmânîya changes also do not take place, in cases like अद्भिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

**वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खर्परेशरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः शेते or वृक्षश्शेते, प्लक्षः शेते or प्लक्षश्शेते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षष्षण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षस्साये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for श् and ष् ॥

*Vârt:*—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्थातारः or वृक्षाः स्थातारः or वृक्षास्स्थातारः ॥

कुप्वोः≍क≍पौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्वोः,≍क≍पौ,च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य यथासंख्य≍क≍प इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

37. ×क and ×प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष×करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष×खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष×पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष×फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in ×क and ×प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamûlîya and the Upadhmânîya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sûtra will apply; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम्, अद्भिः प्सातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sûtra into two :—(1) कुप्वोः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant." (2) ×क ×पौ च The jihvâmûliya and upadhmânîya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्वोरपदाद्योः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादाविस्यनव्ययस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्गे परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say 'when not at the beginning of a word'? Observe पय× कामयते, पय×पिबति ॥

*Vârt:*—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

*Vârt* :—The visarga which comes from र is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति ; but not here, गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

*Vârt* :—स is the substitute of the Upadhmânîya when followed by a guttural. The root उ×ज् (आर्जवे Tud 20) has Upadhmâniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhâtupâṭha as उब्ज the ब् only represents the प् of ×प, and is not to be pronounced. This ×प is changed to स, when the final ज् is changed to a guttural, as उ स् ग, and then this स् is changed to द्, as in अभ्युद्गः, समुद्गः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix ड ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदादाविति वर्त्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुप्वोरपदाद्योः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपदादौ is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यजुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यजुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यजुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यजुष्काम्यति ॥

Why do we say 'by an *affix*'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति, अग्निः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यजुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sûtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष if preceded by इ or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sûtra ordains ष् in the room of the स् taught in the preceding sûtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sûtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्वोः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्त्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्त्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe पूःकरोति, पुरौ करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपदादौ ceases.

इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदु-उदु-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्यस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्वोः परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुम्मुहुसोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. ष् is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर्, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कन्दलम्, चतुष्कलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष् ॥

*Ans.*—The inclusion of the word भ्रातुष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ (VI. 1. 111).

*Vârt*:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and मुहुस्; as पुंस्कामा, मुहुस्कामा ॥

*Vârt*:—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are vṛiddhied; as नैष्कुल्यम्, दौष्कुल्यम् ॥

*Vârt*:—प्लुतानां तादौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to ष even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus नि३ष्कुलम्, दु३ष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दु३ष्पुरुषः, बही३ष्टरः ॥

These last two vârtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष in these cases also by the sûtra itself; except so far as त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्वोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्त्तुम्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्त्तुम्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ष इति संबध्यते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्वोः परतः ॥

**43. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).**

The affix सुच् (स्) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति, त्रिः करोति or त्रिष्करोति, चतुः करोति or चतुष्करोति, द्विः पचति or द्विष्पचति, त्रिः पचति or त्रिष्पचति, चतुः पचति or चतुष्पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛitvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कण्टकम्, where ष is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sûtra is an example of ubhayatra-vibhâshâ. With regard to चतुर् the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made ष compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् the visarga is that of an affix (सुच् or स् V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to चतुर् it is a Prâpta-vibhâshâ, and with regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् it is an Aprâpta-vibhâshâ.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to पंचकृत्वः करोति, the visarga of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) is not changed to ष् ॥

The anuvṛitti of उ and इ is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by इ and उ for the application of this rule. In पञ्चकृत्वः the visarga is preceded by अ, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛitti of इदुदुपधा into this sûtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of kṛitvasuch'; we may dispense with the words द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति from the sûtra. The simple sûtra कृत्वोर्थे would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate इ or उ, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in चतुर् the visarga is not the *affix* सुच्, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुजर्थे षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाले मा
षत्वं विभाषया भूद्ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥
सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्थे ॥
लुप्ते कृत्वोर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
एवं सति त्विदानीं द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥
अन्यो हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्थः कश्चिदप्यास्ति ॥
अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥
प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

*Kârikâ* :—कृत्वसुजर्थे षत्वं ब्रवीति कस्मात् ? Why does the author teach षत्व when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोर्थे is used at all in the sûtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् ( V. 4. 18 ) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्य does not always hold good, as in दीधीवेवीटाम् (I. 1.6), the words दीधी and वेवी are verbs, while इट् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले मा षत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोऽर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional षत्व in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The षत्व here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sûtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional षत्व, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः षत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्थे, लुप्ते कृत्वोर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory षत्व rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sûtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोऽर्थे ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र् in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर्+स्=चतुर्+र् (VIII. 2. 66)=चतु+र् (the first र् is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्; and that this र् when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For उ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिश्चतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sûtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would have been enough. Because (अन्योहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्थः कश्चिदस्त्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words dvis, tris, chaturiti in the sûtra, then the word kṛtvorthe would qualify the word visarga, and the sûtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛitvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that ( चतुरा न सिध्यति तथारेफस्य विसर्जनीयोहि ) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix सुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्थे would qualify चतुर् (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

*Ans.*—प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाय्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word kṛtvortha will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पद whose context runs here; and the rule of तदन्त will apply; so that the sûtra कृत्वोऽर्थे will mean, पदस्य कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः षकारो व ॥ "The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष् before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ".

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kâśikâ however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sûtra, then the mere sûtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the षत्व will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sûtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sûtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sûtra may be considered as an apavâda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavâda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

**इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्वोः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, यजुः करोति or यजुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब त्वमुदकम्, where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्य here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not "having the same meaning", or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound'. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sâmarthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sâmarthya of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The sâmarthya here means vyapekshâ, which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेते, तयो र्यो योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas".

**नित्यं समासे ऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तर पदस्थस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इसुसोरिति वर्त्तते । समासविषये इसुसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षत्वं भवति कुप्वोः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्फलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sûtra does not apply to these examples.

*Q*,—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सृप् by adding the Uṇâdi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and यजुस् by the Uṇâdi affix उसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इसुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and यजुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sûtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sûtra, is an indicator (jñâpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself". This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sûtra VIII. 3. 44.

*Q*.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sûtra?

*Ans* :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

**अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृ-कमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥**

वृत्ति : ॥ अकारादुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोदेशो भवति कृ कमि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषुपरतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्:—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः,-अयस्कुम्भः पयस्कुम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कुम्भी पयस्कुम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कुशा, पयस्कुशा ॥ कर्णीः—अयस्कर्णी, पयस्कर्णी ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः "a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः"? See गीःकारः. धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by *short* अ'? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्करः belongs to Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say "with the exception of an Indeclinable"? Observe स्वःकारः, पुनःकारः॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति पयः करोति, यशः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

*Q*. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇâdi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

*Ans.*—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim :—उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि "Words which end with उण् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation."

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayûravyansakâdi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः षकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुप्वोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavâda to Sûtra VIII. 3. 37. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2. कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः). 3. भ्रातुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्क्री (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadâdi class.) 7. साद्यस्क्रः (from सद्यस्क्री in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the स् is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. धनुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम्, 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पि ष्कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्पिः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pârâyaṇikâs. But in the Mahâbhâshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshâ. As तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकां आनय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases: (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकामानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष *invariably* in case of these words. 14. अयस्काण्डः, 15. मेदस्पिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskâdi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigaṇa. Upachâra is the name of स् and ष् which replace the visarga.

The Pârâyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhâtu-Par, and Nâma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pârâyanikas.

छन्दसि वाऽप्राम्रेडितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आम्रेडितयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुप्वोः परतः प्रशब्दं आम्रेडितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पात्रम् or अयस्पात्रम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वतस्पात्रम् or विश्वतः पात्रम्, here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु णस्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for अस्मद्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word'? Observe अग्निः प्र विद्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पावकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

**कःकरत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वतस्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the च्लि has been elided by II. 4. 80: the ऋ of कृ is guṇated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अट् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वतस्करत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अङ् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लट् of कृ; शप् is added instead of उ, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सतस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

**पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्येव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवतस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयत् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः पर्योज उद्भृतम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

**पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु. राज्ञस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषदः पात ॥

**षष्ठ्याःपतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पतिं विश्वकर्माणमूतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णम्, अगन्म, तमसस्पारम्, इडस्पदे समिध्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् ॥

**इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्त्रः । इडायाः पुत्त्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडायाः पृष्ठम । इडाया स्पारम्, इडायाः पारम । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

**अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्द्धन्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्द्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pâda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padâdhikâra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपदान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्द्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sûtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sûtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, अग्निषु, वायुषु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्निस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ढ; as अकृढ्वम्, चकृढ्वे (VIII. 3. 78).

**सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्धातोः साड्रूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥**

56. ष् is substituted for the स् in सह्, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साद्) ॥

Thus जलाषाट्, तुराषाट्, पृतनाषाट् ॥ साड् is derived from सह् by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63), there is vṛiddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31). and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साड् except this derived from सह्; why then the word सहेः is used in the sûtra? There is another form साड् not derived from सह् ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ड is called सड; as षूड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साड् may not be changed to cerebral: the ड is already cerebral.

**इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्, कोः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः इणः कवर्गाच्चेत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।**

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sûtra, the following :—" when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु, गीर्षु, धूर्षु, वाक्षु, त्वक्षु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कु"? Observe दास्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शर्व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्व्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शर्व्यवायेपि इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् ( नुम् ), the visarjanîya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्पींषि, यजूंषि, हवींषि ( VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjanîya intervenes, as सर्पिःषु, यजुःषु, हविःषु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्पिष्षु, यजुष्षु हविष्षु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निंस्से, निंस्स्व from the root णिसि 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhâtupâṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स ॥ The sûtra âdeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word âdeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samânâdhikaraṇa-shashṭhî, in the latter avayava-yogâshashthî. That is that स् which is an âdeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogâ shashṭhî in both places, then the sûtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus बिसंबिसं, मुसलंमुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sûtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sûtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like करिस्यति and हरिस्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति;

for here स is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sûtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेट् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sûtra is indicated by the sûtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sûtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was = आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not = आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sûtra, for then the present sûtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was = प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not = प्रत्ययस्य यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सात् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष् of a root in Dhâtupâṭha. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप ॥ Of an affix, we have अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु; वक्षत् in इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and यक्षत् in स देवान् यक्षत् ॥

*Q.*—In the case of वक्षत् and यक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sûtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

*Ans.*—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ॥

These words (वक्षत् and यक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and यज्, in लेट् with सिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अट् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of यज् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Uṇâdi word अक्षरं (अश् + सर Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ॥

**शासिवसिघसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वसि- घसीनाम्, च ॥**
**वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि घसि इत्येतेषां च इण्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥**

**60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.**

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the च्लि is replaced by अङ् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have उषितः, उषितवान्, उषित्वा ॥ The Samprasâraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajâdi class. From घस् we have अक्षतुः, अक्षुः in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अद् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also अक्षन् in अक्षन्नमीमदन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अद्, the घस् is substituted for अद् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sûtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sûtra, namely, where the स् is not an âdeśa. Though the स् in घस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आदेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute घस् is not to be taken here: as it seldom occurs.

The word इण्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to घास्ति, वसति and अघास ॥

**स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ण्योः, एव, षणि, अभ्यासात् ॥**

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतेर्ण्यन्तानां च षणभूते सनि परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य आदेशसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

61. ष् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष्; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhâtupâṭha begin with a ष् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of षु beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the ष् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुष्टूषति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष by the last sûtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate त, the स of स्तु is changed to ष ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhâtupâṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषिञ्जयिषति, सुष्वापयिषति ॥ In this last, the स् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष change would have taken place by the previous sûtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sûtra, and *no where else.* Thus सिसिक्षति from the root षिच क्षरणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिक्षति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sûtra. So also सुसूषते from षूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24): and सुसूषति from षू प्रेरणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism? Ans. इष्टतोऽवधारणार्थम्; so that, the sûtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when षण् follows"? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when षण् only follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form सुष्वाप ; and the rule would have applied to सिसिक्षति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative ष"? So that the niyama may not be any where else. Had षणि not been used in the sûtra, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the sûtra would have meant "if there is occasion of षत्व change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives". Therefore ष change would not have taken place in सिषेच, as it is not a Causative.

*Q.*—क्रो विनतेऽनुरोधः? Why have we used the word षण् with ष, and not the word सन्? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form? The word विनत is the name given in the Prâtisâkhyas to ष and ण change.

*Ans.*—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As सुसुप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सनि been used in the sûtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to ष or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिसिक्षति where स is not changed to ष ; so there would have been restriction in सुसुप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in सिष्ठासति ॥

*Q.*—What is the necessity of exhibiting षण् with the anubandha ण्? So that the rule should not apply to ष in general, but to the Desiderative affix ष only. As सुषुपिष इन्द्रम् ॥ This सुषुपिषे is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix थास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of थल् ; for थास् there is से, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इट् is added by VII. 2. 13, the ए is changed to अव्, as सुषुपिषव् इन्द्रं, the व is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate सु, the स् is changed to ष, in षु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this sûtra does not apply in this case. But had ष in general been taken, then सुषुपिष has an affix ष, and therefore sûtra VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of सु to षु after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence षण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate'?

*Ans.*—So that this restriction may apply to that ष which would have been caused by the इ or उ of an abhyâsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अभिषिषिक्षति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिसिक्षते ॥

*Q.*—No, this cannot be the reason, because the ष caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.

*Ans.*—Then we say, the abhyâsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyâsa which is *caused* by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyâsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by यङ्, and then षण् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sûtra will not apply, and षत्व change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यङ् of स्तुप् is सोष्टुप्य (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोष्टुपिषते, with इट् augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of य, the elision of य् by VI. 4. 49.

*Q.*—No this also cannot be the reason: because the षत्व change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyâsa is employed superfluously in the sûtra.

*Ans.*—The word abhyâsa is taken in the sûtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ष which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyâsa; and not to that ष which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a *dhâtu* or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिषति, अभीषिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इसिस; here by the force of the इ of the abhyâsa सि, the स is changed to ष as इसिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sûtra does not apply, the root इ causes the षत्व of the abhyâsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अभ्यासात् not been used in the sûtra, the स of abhyâsa could not have been changed to ष, for then the sûtra would have meant "ष is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative षण्"; and as इसिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

**सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम्,च ॥**
वृत्ति ॥ स्विदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां ण्यन्तानां सनि षभूते परतो ऽभ्यासादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य सकारादेशो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विद्, स्वद्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेदयिषति, सिस्वादयिषति and सिसाहयिषति ॥

**प्राक्सितादड्व्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अट्, व्यवाये,अपि ॥**
वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सिततसंशब्दनाद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्राड्व्यवायेपि मूर्द्धन्यो भवति-त्येवं तद्वेदितव्यमपिशब्दादनड्व्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ष् for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सित exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अट् intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सित् occurs in sûtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change: as अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, विषुणोति, निषुणोति ॥ So also when अट् intervenes; as अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत्, व्यषुणोत्, न्यषुणोत् ॥ The force of अपि is that the change takes place even when the augment अट् does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

**स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सितादिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्थासेनयसेधेति स्थादयस्तेषु स्थादिषु प्राक् सितसंशब्दनात् अभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्द्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्था &c upto सित् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to ष ॥

The words प्राक् सितात् are understood here also. The स्थादि roots are, स्था, सेनय &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with सेव् in VIII. 3. 70. The sûtra consists of two sentences: (1) The षत्व takes place in स्था &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्था &c. is changed to ष ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परितष्ठौ where the abhyâsa त intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhâtupâṭha. As अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ, as अभितष्ठौ; here the स would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'etre* of this sûtra is that it prohibits षण् (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषिषिक्षति, परिषिषिक्षति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of niyama, as we have said above. स of स्था &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष ॥ As अभिसुसूषति from षू प्रेरणे with सन्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12: the root सू is unchanged by the niyama prohibition of VIII. 3. 61; the reduplicate सु remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sûtra.

**उपसर्गात्सुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्तौतिस्तोभतिस्थासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभति-स्था-सेनय-सेध-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य सुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्था सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. ष is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs: सु (सुनोति), सू (सुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुभ (स्तोभते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिषुवति, परिषुवति, अभ्यषुवत्, पर्यषुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिष्यति, परिष्यति, अभ्यष्यत्, पर्यष्यत् ॥ स्तौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोभति, अभिष्टोभते, परिष्टोभते, अभ्यष्टोभत, पर्यष्टोभत ॥ स्था, अभिष्ठास्यति, परिष्ठास्यति, अभ्यष्ठात्, पर्यष्ठात्, अभितष्ठौ, परितष्ठौ ॥ सेनय, अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयत्, पर्यषेणयत् ॥ अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत्, पर्यषेधत् ॥ सिच, अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति, अभ्यषिञ्चत्, पर्यषिञ्चत्, अभिषिषिक्षति, परिषिषिक्षति ॥ सञ्ज, अभिषजति, परिषजति, अभ्यषजत्, पर्यषजत्, अभिषिषङ्क्षति, परिषिषङ्क्षति ॥ स्वञ्ज, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत, पर्यष्वजत, अभिषिष्वङ्क्षते, परिषिष्वङ्क्षते ॥ सेध इति शब्विकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यतिनिवृत्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्माद्देशाभिः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचेरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयतीत्यत्रापि न सुनोतिं प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिषावयतीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति षत्वं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sûtra as सेध with शप् vikaraṇa, thus debarring सिधु-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेचको देशः = निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच् ; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ण्वुल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिषावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिषावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots षुञ् अभिषवे belongs to Svâdi class, षु प्रेरणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divâdi class, ष्टुञ् स्तुतौ to Adâdi class and ष्टुभ स्तंभे, to Bhuâdi Class. These have been shown in the sûtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यङ् लुक्, as अभिसोषवीति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of श्तिप् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषेषिच्चीति ॥

The upasarga need not *end* with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्षुणोति, दुष्षुणोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादप्रतेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus निषीदति विषीदति, न्यषीदत्, व्यषीदत् ॥ निषसाद, विषसाद ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिसीव्यति ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sûtra is सेवेरप्रतेः as given by Sayânâchârya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pâṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्भेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an upasarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टभ्नाति । परिष्टभ्नाति । अभ्यष्टभ्नात् । पर्यष्टभ्नात् । अभितष्टम्भ । परितष्टम्भ । The word अप्रतेः of the last sûtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like:—प्रतिष्टभ्नाति । प्रत्यष्टभ्नात्, प्रत्यतिष्टम्भ ॥

अवाच्चालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवशब्दादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेऽर्थे आविदूर्ये च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्य means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous'.

Thus अवष्टभ्यास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवष्टभ्य तिष्ठति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवष्टब्धा सेना 'the army near at hand'. अवष्टब्धा शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः शीतेन 'the Sûdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sûtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेश्च स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादवाच्चोत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष् is substituted for the स् of स्वन्, after वि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्वणति, व्यष्वणत्, विषष्वाण, अवष्वणति, अवाष्वणत्, अवषष्वाण ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating"? Observe विस्वनति मृदङ्गः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिवुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिवु-सह-सुट्-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिवु सह सुट् स्तु स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित, सय, सिव्, सह, the augment सुट्, स्तु, and स्वञ्ज, after the prepositions परि, नि, and वि ॥

The root सेव belongs to BhuÂdi class. The word सित is the Past Participle of षिञ् बन्धने, and सय is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अच्; सिव् is a DivÂdi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्यषेवत । व्यषेवत । न्यषेवत । परिषिषेविषते । विषिषेविषते । निषिषेविषते । सित । परिषितो, विषितो, निषितः । सय । परिषयो, निषयो, विषयः । सिव् । परिषीव्यति । निषीव्यति । विषीव्यति । पर्यषीव्यत् । न्यषीव्यत् । व्यषीव्यत् । पर्यसीव्यत् । न्यसीव्यत् । व्यसीव्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्यषहत । न्यषहत । व्यषहत । पर्यसहत । न्यसहत । व्यसहत । सुट् । परिष्करोति । पर्यस्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टौति । निष्टौति । विष्टौति । पर्यष्टौत् । न्यष्टौत् । व्यष्टौत् । पर्यस्तौत् । न्यस्तौत् । व्यस्तौत् । स्वञ्ज । दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जामिति नलोपः । परिष्वजते । निष्वजते । विष्वजते । पर्यष्वजत । पर्यस्वजत । पूर्वेणैव सिद्धे स्तुस्वञ्जिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् । अड्व्यवाये विभाषा यथा स्यात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वञ्ज् by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वञ्ज् would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sûtra, by which the ष change is *optional* when the augment अट् intervenes.

**सिवादीनां वाड्व्यवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अट्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिवुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवादयः । सिवादीनामड्व्यवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

71. The ष्-change may take place optionally in the सिव् and the rest (of the last sûtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or वि and the verb.

The सिवादि are the four roots सिव् सह, स्तु and स्वञ्ज, as well as the augment सुट् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhâshâ. In the case of स्तु and स्वञ्ज् it is prâpta-vibhâshâ, in the case of others it is aprâpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sûtra, and so need not be repeated here.

**अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्देतरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष् is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्दू, after the prepositions अनु, वि, परि, अभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्दू प्रस्रवणे is anudâtta. Thus अनुष्यन्दते । विष्यन्दते । परिष्यन्दते । अभिष्यन्दते तैलम् । निष्यन्दते । अनुस्यन्दते । विस्यन्दते । परिस्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्दते मत्स्य उदके ॥ The option of this sûtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्देते or अनुष्यन्देते मत्स्योदके ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudâsa and not a Prasajya-pratishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मत्स्योदके, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no षत्व ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛitti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sûtra, which might have then been अन्वभिभ्यांच स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛitti of परि &c.

**वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः,अनिष्ठायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य मुर्द्धन्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत् ॥

The root is स्कन्दिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhâ'? Observe विस्कन्नः

**परेश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा मुर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

74. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sûtra as विपरिभ्यां स्कन्देर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कण्णः or परिस्कन्नः ॥

**परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति मुर्द्धन्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The ष required by the last sûtra is prohibited. The other form is परिष्कन्नः ॥ The word परिस्कन्न is formed by the affix अच् or it is a Nishṭhâ, the त being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it "परिस्कन्न is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata". He bases his construction on the sûtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरतेषु means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

**स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निर्निविभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्स्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विस्फुरति, विष्फुरति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्स्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विस्फुलति, विष्फुलति ॥

**वेः स्कभ्नातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कभ्नातेः, नित्यं ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुत्तरस्य स्कभ्नातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. ष् is always substituted for the स् of स्कम्भ, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कभ्नाति, विष्कम्भिता, विष्कम्भितुम्, विष्कम्भितव्यम् ॥

**इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोऽङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिटाम्, धः, अङ्गात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्तादङ्गात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the ध् of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus च्योषीढ्वम्, ह्रोषीढ्वम् ॥ Aorist :—अच्योढ्वम्, अह्रोढ्वम् (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : चकृढ्वे ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इण्कोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of कु or the guttural ceases. As पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say "the ध of षीध्वं, लुङ् and लिट्"? Observe स्तुध्वे, अस्तुध्वम्, where the ध is of लट् and लङ् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् 'after a *stem*'? Observe परिवेविषीध्वम्, from विष्लृ-व्याप्तौ of the Juhotyâdi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the ष् of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix ; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the *anga* परिवे वि, for the aṇga here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अङ्गात् in the sûtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेटः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिट उत्तरेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां या धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the ध of षीध्वम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लू+इट्+षीध्वम्=लविषीध्वम् or लविषीढ्वम् so also पविषीध्वम् or पविषीढ्वम् from पू ॥ Aorist :—अलविध्वम् or अलविढ्वम् ॥ Perfect :—लुलुविध्वे or लुलुविढ्वे ॥

The word इण is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by षीध्वम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिषीध्वम् from the root आस उपवेशने ॥

Then in the word उपदिदीयिध्वे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sutra or otherwise? This is from the root दीङ् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई ( इण् vowel ), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ढ ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अङ्गात् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sutra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ढ ॥

समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. ष् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो यवागूः । अङ्गुलिषङ्गो गाः सादयति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गं पश्य ॥

The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sûtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i.e. सङ्गस्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुष्ठानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पश्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत्, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नेरुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥
इष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्दीर्घात् सोमस्येष्यते ॥

82. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

*Ishti*:—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ष, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb ) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by क्विप्, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised ( स्तूयते ) is so called. अग्निष्टोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the 'first division ( संस्था ) of the Soma-yâga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatâ-Dvandva, the ष change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Âsvalâyana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेष्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ष् after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमं दर्शयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The स् of स्वसृ is changed to ष् after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातुःपितुर्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, पितुर्भ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मातुर् पितुर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृशब्दस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to ष्, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातुःष्वसा ; पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा ॥ The word मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sûtra itself, with a र्, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

*Q.*—Well, if this be so, when this र् is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to स् by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ष change?

*Ans.*—The ष् change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Therefore, these words are taken to end in र् ॥ For if they were taken to end in स्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितुर्भ्याम with a र् before भ्याम् in the sûtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

**अभिनिसस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ष् after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्टानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्टानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Âpastamba :—द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्टान्तं, घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् "a name (nâma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pûrva), and its second portion a verb (âkhyâta), that it should end in a long vowel (dîrgha) or a visarga (abhinishṭâna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter ( ghosha-vad-âdi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it." Thus the names द्रविणोदा, वरिवोदा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say "when it is the name of a particular letter.'? Observe अभिनिस्तनति मृदङ्गः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

**उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्भ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्परः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्प्रादुस्शब्दाच्चोत्तरस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ष्, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच् परः means 'followed by य् or अच्' ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning 'evidently'.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःषन्ति ; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुःष्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe दधिस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनुसृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

*Q.*—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स् but to the *whole verb* सृ, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sûtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स् only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

*Ans.*—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusû will be आनुसेयः with ढक् as it belongs to Subhrâdi class. Thus अनुसू + ढक् = आनुसू + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the ऊ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ऊ is elided, the स् is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sûtra, the rule would apply to this स् also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य्"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

**सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

*Kârikâ*:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूद्विसुष्वापेति केन न ।
हलादिशेषान्न सुपिरिष्टं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥
स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सितादुत्तरः सुपि ।
अनर्थके विषुषुपः सुपिभूतो द्विरुच्यते ॥

88. The स् of स्वप्, सूति, and सम is changed to ष् after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sûtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुषुप्तः, निः षुप्तः दुः षुप्तः ॥ The word सूति is the क्तिन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुषूतिः, विषूतिः, निःषूति and दुःषूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the *noun* सम and not the verb सम स्तम वैक्लव्ये ॥ Thus सुषमम्, विषमम्, निःषमम्, दुःषमम् ॥

*Kârikâ*—Why is षत्व taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्व change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वपः and विस्वपक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ Q. विसुष्वापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्व change has not taken place in the reduplicate विसुष्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विसुप्स्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the प् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् applies? *Ans.* हलादि शेषान् न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विसुस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no षत्व ॥इदं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishṭi. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विसुष्वाप not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 64? स्थादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितादुत्तरः सुपि, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is *after* that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ *Q.* If this maxim is applied, how do you form विषुषुपुः? *Ans.* अनर्थके विषुषुपुः षुपिभूतांद्विरुच्यते, here the form षुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विसुप्, then there is ष change, as विषुप्, then reduplication, as विषुप्षुप् ॥ Now षत्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the षत्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vârt.)

**निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The ष् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटकरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sûtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

**सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चेद्भवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sûtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् *i. e.* शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

**कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कापिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra" here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्थलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्ठोऽग्रगामिनि ॥ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्ठः, अग्रगामिनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ठ इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ठ is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्ठोऽश्व meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रस्थे हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रस्थो व्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टरं इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणातेः षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अप् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sûtra III. 3. 33. by which अप् is added here instead of घञ् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इतिं निपात्यते । विपूर्वात्स्तृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोः छन्दोनाम्नि घञेवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टार is used.

By Sûtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपंक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पटस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sûtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sútra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संस्तारपङ्क्ति ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sûtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष् is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्ठलम्, कुष्ठलम्, शमिष्ठलम् and परिष्ठलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place ; as शमी-स्थलम्

**अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशेकुशङ्क्वङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेबर्हिर्दिव्यग्निभ्यः स्थः ॥ ९७ ॥ · पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शेकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे बर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्थृणामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष् after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु शङ्कु , अङ्गु, मञ्जि. पुञ्जि, परमे, बर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्ठः, आम्बष्ठः, गोष्ठः, भूमिष्ठः, सव्येष्ठः, अपष्ठः, द्विष्ठः, त्रिष्ठ, कुष्ठः, शेकुष्ठः, शङ्कुष्ठः, अङ्गुष्ठ, मञ्जिष्ठः, पुञ्जिष्ठः, परमेष्ठः, बर्हिष्ठः, दिविष्ठः, अग्निष्ठः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sûtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

*Vârt :*—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्थृ ॥ As सव्येष्ठाः । परमेष्ठी । सव्येष्ठा सारथिः ॥

**सुषामादिषु च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98, The स् is changed to ष् in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्ठु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्ठु), 12 गौरिषक्थः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेच्चनम् (नौषेवनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेवणम् (दुन्दुभिषेच्चनम् ; °षेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachanîya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री ; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः सेधः or दुर्गतः सेधः ॥ The word सेध here is a घञ् formed word, from षिधु हिंसा संराद्धोः ; if it be derived from

षिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सम् is changed to ष्॥ The words सुष्टु, दुष्टु are Uṇâdi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्थः is a Bahuvrîhi, the स of सक्थि is changed to ष and the Samâsânta षच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root स्ना, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्णा with टाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and आ shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषेचनं is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेवणं is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीव्यति ॥

**एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति इण्कोरुत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

*99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥*

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जानुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्थम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

**नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकारात् मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

*100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष् substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.*

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here शतभिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sûtras 99 and 100 are realy Gaṇa-sûtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kâsikâ has raised them to the rank of full sûtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushâmâdi gaṇa.

**ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, तर, तम, तय, त्व, तल्, तस्, त्यप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । त्व । सर्पिष्ट्वम् । यजुष्ट्वम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । त्यप् । आविष्ट्यो वर्द्धते । ह्रस्वादिति किम् । गीस्तरा । धूस्तरा । तादाविति किम् । सार्पिस्सात्भवति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्यात्पदाद्योरिति सत्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् । तद्धितइति किम् । सर्पिस्तराति ॥

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त ॥ Observe सर्पिस्साद्भवति ॥

*Q.*—But this स would never have been changed to ष because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, how can you then give this counter-example?

*Ans.*—Though the स of the affix सात् is prohibited by VIII. 3. 111, yet the counter-example is valid, because the स् of the base सर्पिस् is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe सर्पिस्तरति ॥

*Vârt:*—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्द्युस्तराम् । छिन्द्युस्तराम् ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of भिन्द् and छिन्द् with the augment यासुट्; the Taddhita affix तरप् is added by V. 3. 56, and आम् is added by V. 4. 11.

*Vart:*—Prohibition must be stated with regard to पुंस् as पुंस्त्वम् पुंस्ता ॥

**निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशोभवति तपतौ परतोनासेवनेर्थे ॥

102. ष् is substituted for the स् of निस् before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word आसेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निष्टपति सुवर्णम्=सकृत् अग्निम् स्पर्शयति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तपति सुवर्ण सुवर्णकारः=पुनः पुनरग्नि स्पर्शयति ॥

In the sentences निष्टप्तं रक्षः, निष्टप्ता अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

**युष्मत्तत्तक्षुःष्वन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, ततक्षुः षु, अन्तः पादम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् ततक्षुस् इत्येतेषु तकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति स चेत्सकारोन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स् standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to ष before the त of त्वम् &c. and तद् and ततक्षुस् ॥

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes त्वम्, त्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निष्ट्वं, नामासीत् ॥ त्वा, अग्निष्ट्वा वर्द्धयामसि ॥ ते, अग्निष्टे विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्स्वग्ने सधिष्टव, ( Rig VIII. 43. 9 ) ॥ तत्, अग्निष्टद्विश्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) ततक्षुस्, द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः षु ॥ अन्तःपादमिति किम्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूदग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा विचर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्मआत्मनो मिन्दाभूदग्नि स्तत्पुनराह जातवेदा विचर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

**यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्ततक्षुः षु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्चिर्भिष्ट्वम् or अर्चिर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निष्टेमम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्निष्टत् or अग्निस्तत् । अर्चिर्भिष्टतक्षुः or अर्चिर्भिस्ततक्षुः ॥

**स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्त्तते । स्तुत स्तोम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसिविषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिस्तुतस्य, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sûtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दसि of this sûtra governs the subsequent sutra also.

**पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विसन्धिः, त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः ; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विषाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःषमृद्धत्वाय or त्रिःसमृद्धत्वाय ॥

**सुञः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुञः ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुञिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अभी षु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्व ऊ षु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट् (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनिं वाचमुदीरयन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनिः in the list of सवनादि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्विप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्विप् = सिसनिस् (the अ is elided by VI. 4. 48) + 0. add सु, सिसनिस् + स् = सिसनिस् + 0 [स् is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स् (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष् or to र् (रु). The ष being asiddha, the रु change takes place.] = सिसनिर् = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sûtra, there will be ष change in सिषाणयिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्याम्, च ।
वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य सहिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् ॥ Some divide this sûtra into two; as (1) सहेः ; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sanhitâ : and the ष change takes place in sanhitâ only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sûtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहं would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिसृजिस्पृशिस्पृहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, स्पृशि, स्पृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि स्पृशि स्पृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष substitution does not take place if र follows the स्, as well as in सृप, सृज, स्पृश स्पृह, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विस्रंसिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥ The word विस्रंसिक is formed by the affix ण्वुल् (III. 3. 109), विस्रब्धः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root स्रम्भु विश्वासे, the इट् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the nisṭhâ त ॥ सृप :—पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः ॥ The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कमुन् (III. 4. 17), सृज :—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ स्पृश :—दिविस्पृशम् ॥ स्पृहि :—निस्पृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 सूते सूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किंसः किंसः (किंस्यतीति किंसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनिं गोसनिम्, 8 अश्वसनिमश्वसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 संज्ञायां बृहस्पतिसवः, 13 शकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 सुते सुते (सूते २), 16 संवत्सरे संवत्सरे, 17 बिसं बिसम्, 18 किसं किसम् ( किसं किसम् ), 19 मुसलं मुसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अश्वसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सादिति चैतस्य यकि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. The present sûtra prevents that. The Padâdi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhâtupâṭha are taught with a ष, and for which a स is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अग्निसात् । दधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padâdi स as दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष substitution does not take place in the स of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

*Q.*—The स of the reduplicate should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स of the root should be changed into ष by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. षत्वादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेषिष्यते?

*Ans.*—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of षत्वादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिषिषति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्त्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेध is not changed to ष् when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यात्प्रतिषेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिषेधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहिरयं सोढ्भूतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष् ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परिषहते, विषहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिवुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिवु-सहाम्, चङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिवु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिवुसहां चाङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष् change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिव् and सह् ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिव and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भत्, अभ्यतस्तम्भत् ॥ सिव :—पर्यसीषिवत्, न्यसीषिवत् ॥ सह :—पर्यसीषहत्, व्यसीषहत् ॥

*Vârt*:—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the a bove example.

**सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परतः ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष् in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यतिं, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसूः, निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुसूषति by the affix क्विप् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

**सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य,लिटि ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्ज इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्लिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स् of सद् and ष्वंज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष् ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स 's, as ससाद and सस्वंज ॥ After a preposition, the first स will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाद, परिषसाद्, निषसाद, विषसाद, परिषस्वजे:, परिषस्वजाते, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वजे ॥ The nasal of स्वंज is elided though here, the लिट् affix is not कित्, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वंज does not occur in the sûtra, but has been inserted in it by the auther of Kâśikâ from the following Vârtika :—सदेा लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

**निव्यभिभ्योड्व्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अड्-व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याड्व्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अट् intervenes.

Thus न्यषीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यषीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः, अभ्यषीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सद and स्वंज is not to be read into this sûtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यष्टौत्, अभ्यष्टौत or अभ्यस्तौत ॥

ओ३म् ।

# अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

## BOOK EIGHTH.

### CHAPTER FOURTH.

रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ रषाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफषकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्थौ चेन्निमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After र् and ष्, the ण् is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥ So also after ष; as, कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ॥

The letter ष् is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sûtras: for न् will be changed into ण when preceded by ष् by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति ॥

*Vârt:*—So also after the letter ऋ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम्॥

This vârtika may well be dispensed with: because the र in the sûtra is the common *sound* र् which we perceive both in र and ऋ; and so the र will denote both the vowel ऋ and the consonont र. See contra. VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter ऋ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the र् sound of a quarter mâtrâ, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the र-sound and the subsequent न, and will prevent the application of the sûtra, hence the vârtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अट् of the next sûtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of ऋ is not a *full* vowel of one mâtrâ, but is of half-mâtrâ, being only a fragment of ऋ, and hence is not included in the pratyâhâra अट्, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रयत्न or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ण change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñâpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnâdi list there we find नृनमन as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ण after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नृनमन as a jñâpaka; that after the *letter* ऋ also the ण change takes place.

**अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अट् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफषकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyâhâra अट् stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. दर्पेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आ: e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyâhâra. Its specification in the sûtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvâra separates the letters e. g. बृंहणम्, बृंहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root बृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvâra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sûtra ?

The word नुम् in the sûtra refers to anusvâra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like तृंहणं from तृंह स्तृंह हिंसार्थे ॥ Here the anusvâra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvâra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvâra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इवि: प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

**पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जितात् नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As द्रुणसः, वार्ध्रीणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, शूर्पणखा ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter ग'? Observe; ऋगयनम् ॥

Some say, that this sûtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ण when preceded by र or ष. But the present sûtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in चर्मनासिका ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sûtra therefore applies to those cases where the र् or ष् is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to तद्धित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरपस्यापत्यं = खारपायणः (IV.1.99). Here the affix अयन is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरप is the Pûrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ण though खारपायण is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगाय हितः = मातृभोगीणः with ख affix. Similarly in करणप्रियः, the words र and न both occur in the Pûrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to ग, only prohibits the change of न into ण, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sûtra.

According to others, this sûtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to नित्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sûtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sûtra is a विधि ॥

The sûtra should be thus divided:—पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sûtra, and अगः another. So that every rule relating to ण change would be debarred with regard to ग intervention.

**वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटरा अग्रे इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदात् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sûtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणं, कोटरावणम्, अग्रेवणम (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अग्रेवणं is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Râjadantâdi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, शतधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम्॥

**प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्ष्य-खदिर-पीयुक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर् अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्ष्य खदिर पीयूक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, ŝara, ikshu, plaksha, âmra, kârshya, khadira, and pîyûkshâ.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टव्यम्; निर्वणे प्रतिधीयते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्ष्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयुक्षावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are प्रादि: compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayîbhâva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

**विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवाचि तस्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ द्व्यक्षरत्र्यक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

*Kârika* फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।
ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माश्च वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perrenial herb or a forest tree.

When the pûrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perenniel herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम्;

मूर्वावणम् or मूर्वावनम् ॥ Here मूर्वा and मूर्वा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवनं or शिरीषवणम् ; बदरीवणं or बदरीवनं ॥

*Vârt:*—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ; भद्रदारुवनम् ॥

*Vârt:*—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम्, तिमिरिकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sûtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

*Kârika:*-Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

**अह्नोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्नः, अदन्तात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तं यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्याह्नो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अह्न्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाह्णः "fore-noon" ; अपराह्णः "after-noon".

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरह्नः, दुरह्नः ॥

The word अह्न is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह्न being used in the sûtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह्नः in the sûtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthânins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII.4.8), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samâsânta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अह्न substitution by V. 4. 88. The word दीर्घाह्नी is a Bahuvrîhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ङीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

**वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहणम् 'a sugar-cart'. शरवाहणम् "a reed-cart". दर्भवाहणम् 'a hay-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe दाक्षिवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Dâkshi".

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipâtana of this sûtra.

**पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार आदेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśînaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prâchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः "the sauvîra-drinking Bâhlîkas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दाक्षिपानं the drink of the Dâkshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

**वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तदीयस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपानम् or कषायपाणम् 'drinking of kashâya'. सुरापाणम् or सुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

*Vârt :*—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

**प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार आदेशो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'mâsha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापानि, व्रीहिवापाणि or व्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The. augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, व्रीहिवापेण or व्रीहिवापेन ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prâtipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prAtipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभग: 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीण: 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or °नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas ars compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

*VArt*:—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As आर्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपक्वानि is a gati-samas, दीर्घाह्नी शरत् ॥

**एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाजुत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाजुत्तरपदसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृत्रहणौ and वृत्रहण: 'the Vritra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk': सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरापेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sûtra, while its anuvritti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvritti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवति चोत्तरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class कु, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वस्त्रयुगिणौ, वस्त्रयुगिणः, स्वर्गकामिणौ, वृषगामिणौ ॥ नुम्:—वस्त्रयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः:—वस्त्रयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिणौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i. e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण उपदेशो यस्यासौ णोपदेशः । णोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति असमासेपि समासेपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samâsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रनायकः = प्रगता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipâta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvritti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sûtra also, and the rule would have applied to samâsas only, for there only we have pûrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikâra of pûrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhâtupâṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द्, नाट्, नाथ्, नाध्, नन्द्, नक्क्, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

**हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतयोरुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

**15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.**

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svâdi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically श्नु; and the root मी belongs to Kryâdi class which takes the vikaraṇa ना ॥ In the sûtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to नो and ना to नी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

**आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीत्येतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

**16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.**

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, परिवपाणि, प्रयाणि, परियाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपानि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा येषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sûtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the *Imperative* affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अर्थवद् ग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the *noun* प्रवपानि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim यत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयः तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

**नेर्गदनदपतपदघुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्रातिप्सातिवपतिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोतिदेग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद्-नद-पत-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-वाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति गद नद पत पद घु मा स्यति हन्ति याति वाति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mâ 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', śam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गदः, प्रणिगदति, परिणिगदति     नदः, प्रणिनदति, परिणिनदति
पतः, प्रणिपतति, परिणिपतति,     पदः, प्रणिपद्यते, परिणिपद्यते
घुः, प्रणिददाति, परिणिददाति, प्रणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति
माङः, प्रणिमिमीते, परिणिमिमीते     मेङः, प्रणिमयते, परिणिमयते

*Ishti*:—By the word मा in the sûtra, both verbs माङ् and मेङ् are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

स्यति प्रणिष्यति, परिणिष्यति     हन्ति प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति प्रणियाति, परिणियाति     वाति प्रणिवाति, परिणिवाति
द्राति प्रणिद्राति, परिणिद्राति     प्साति प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class.

वपति प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति     वहति प्रणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्यति प्रणिशाम्यति, परिणिशाम्यति (VII. 3. 74)
चिनोति प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति     देग्धि प्रणिदेग्धि, परिणिदेग्धि

*Ishti*:—The above change takes place even when the augment अट् intervenes.. As प्रण्यगदत्, परिण्यगदत् ॥

The roots स्यति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sûtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

**शेषे विभाषाकखादावषान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकखादौ, अषान्ते, उपदेशे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अककारखकारादिरषकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नेर्नकारस्य विभाषा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न of नि is replaced by ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क or ख, nor ends with ष ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sûtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपचति or प्रनिपचति, प्रणिभिनत्ति or प्रनिभिनत्ति ॥

Why do we say अकखादौ "not beginning with क or ख"? Observe प्रनि करोति, प्रनिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अषान्तः "not ending in ष"? Observe प्रनिपिनष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे "in original enunciation"? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रनिचकार, प्रनिचखाद, प्रनिपेक्ष्यति (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does पिष् end with ष but with क (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhâtupâṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and पिष् ends with ष, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रणिवेष्टा and प्रणिवेक्ष्यति from the root विष् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhâtupâṭha, it ends with ष ॥

अनितेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् 'to breathe', is changed into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र + अनिति = प्राणिति 'he breathes'. पराणिति ॥ For इट् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 *sub*, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्तः in the sûtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sûtra, and has the meaning of 'proximity'. That is the न is changed to ण, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि + अनिति = पर्यनिति ॥ In this view, another अन्त should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्यणिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sûtra.

The word प्राण् is a क्विप् formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padânta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sûtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोर्नकारयोर्णकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिणत्, and so also पराणिणिषति and पराणिणत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्रानि+स+इ ॥ Here the affix सन् requires reduplication, and the present sûtra requires ण change of न ॥ The णत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणिनि+स+ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause र and the root-न् of नि, and so this न would not be changed to ण ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the णत्व rule, as प्राणि+स+ति, and then reduplicate णि; and we get the form प्राणिणिषति even without this sûtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sûtra? The sûtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form जोगुहत् is evolved by reduplicating ह्वृ (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहण्यते, परिहण्यते, प्रहणनम् परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रघ्नन्ति, परिघ्नन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अत् "perceded by *short* अ"? Observe प्रर्घ्नानि and प्रघानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिण् (III. 1. 60) प्रहन्+चिण्=प्रघन्+चिण् (VIII. 3. 54) =प्रघान्+चिण् (VIII. 2. 116)=प्रघानि 'he killed'. Here न being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

वमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when व् or म् follow, the न of *han* is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहण्वः, परिहण्वः, or प्रहन्वः and परिहन्वः, प्रहण्मः or प्रहन्मः परिहण्मः or परिहन्मः ॥

This sûtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारस्यात्पूर्वस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हण्यते and अन्तर्हणनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशे?" Observe अन्तर्हननो देशः ॥

The phrase अत्पूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sûtra 22 *ante*, is to be read into this sûtra also. Observe, अन्तर्घ्नन्ति ॥

Why do we say "*short* अ?" See, अन्तरघानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vârtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sûtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशइति वर्त्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरयणं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sûtra is for अदेश purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अय् or इण् ॥

छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, ऋत्-अवग्रहात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तादवग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य नकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an *avagraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न् becomes ण्, after a ऋ, after which in Padapâṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pâṭha the words नृमणाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मणाः ॥ The word अवगृह्यते = विच्छिद्य पठ्यते, as in Pada-pâṭha. ऋदवग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The ऋ here, of course, means 'a word *ending* in ऋ', because ऋ *alone* cannot be a pûrvapada. The णत्व took place during sanhitâ, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sûtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sûtra? Because we have already said that the word sanhitâ governs all sûtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Sanhitâ state in these; and the ण is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sûtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ण after that ऋ only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that ऋ which stands at the *end* of a *word* (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाणम्, the ऋ is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ण change.

The word पूर्वपदात् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ यानम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here ऋ is अवगृह्य ॥ The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in saṅhitâ. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नश्च धातुस्थोरुषुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्थ, उरु, षुभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति धातुस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योरुशब्दात्षुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ण, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and षु (सु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा णो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्कृधि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) षु—अभीषुणः सखीनाम्) Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊषुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका॥ In the next sûtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्थ means 'that which exists in a dhâtu', namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and षु means सुञ्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2rd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of दान in the Veda. कृधी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊषुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शूद्रः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sûtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sûtra as given by Pâṇini. His sûtra is उपसर्गाद्नोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahâbhâshya. For ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो मुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणोवनिर्देवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्स्थो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ कृत्स्थस्य णत्वे निर्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—अन ( यु ), मान ( शानच् &c VII. 2. 82 ), अनीय, ( III. 1. 96 ) अनि, ( III. 3. 111) इनि ( णिनि III. 2. 78 &c ) and the substitutes of निष्ठा ( VIII. 2. 42 ) ॥

Thus

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| अनः | प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ | मानः | प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥ |
| अनीय | प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ | अनि | अप्रयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥ |
| इनि | प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ | | |

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel ?' Observe प्रभुग्नः, परिभुग्नः the Nishṭhâ of भुज् ॥ It is thus formed: भुज् + क्त = भुज् + त = भुज् + न ( VII. 2. 45, the root भुज् is read as भुजो कौटिल्ये in the dhatûpâṭha, having an indicatory ओ, thus giving scope to the rule ). भुज् + न = भुग् + न ( VIII. 2. 30 ) = भुग्न ॥

*Vârt*:—The word निर्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विण्णोस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विण्णोहमनवासेन ॥

णेर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्प्रत्ययः तत्स्थस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारादेशो भवति

30. The न् of a Kṛit - affix ordained after a causative verb ( ण्यन्त ), is optionally changed to ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रयापणम् or प्रयापनम्, परियापणम् or परियापनम्, प्रयाप्यमाणम् or प्रयाप्यमानम्, प्रयापणीयम् or प्रयापनीयं, अप्रयापणिः or अप्रयापनिः, प्रयापिणौ or प्रयापिनौ ॥

Why have we used the word विहित 'ordained' in explaining the sûtra? Because the change takes place, even where the कृत् affix does not follow directly after the affix णि; where a third affix such as यक् intervenes. As प्रयाप्यमाणम् ॥ The णेः being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation ( I. 1. 72 ), the kṛit - affix should come immediately after णि.

हलश्चेजुपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादिर्यो धातुरिजुपधस्तस्मात्परो यः कृत्प्रत्ययः तत्स्थस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit - affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate इच् vowel, changes optionally its न्, which is preceded by a vowel, into ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase कृत्यचः is understood here. Thus प्रकोपणम् or प्रकोपनम्, परिकोपणम् or परिकोपनम् ॥

Why do we say हलः 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe प्रेहणम् and प्रोहणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह चेष्टायाम् and ऊह वितर्के ॥

Why do we say इजुपधात् 'having a penultimate इच् vowel'? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम्; no option.

By the rule कृत्यचः the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The न of the kṛit - affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिभुग्नः

The word हलः in the sûtra should be interpreted as हलादेः, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल्" ॥ For an इजुपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हलः in the text would have been useless had it meant हलन्तात् ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यः कृत्तत्स्थस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारो भवति ।

32. A kṛit - affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच् vowel, having the augment नुम् in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its न् into ण, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word हल: of the last sûtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sûtra, here it means हलन्तात्, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an इजादि root to commence with a हल्; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus प्रेङ्खणम्, परेङ्खणम् from इखि गत्यर्थः; the नुम् is added because it is इदित् ॥ प्रेङ्गणम, परेङ्गणम्, प्रोम्भणम् परोम्भणम् ॥ In उम्भ पूरणे the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेन्वनम्, because नुम् here means the anusvâra generally ( VIII. 4. 2 ) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, ( VIII. 4. 29 ) this sûtra makes a नियम or restriction. That is, only in the case of इजादि सनुम् verbs the change takes place, not in other सनुम् verbs. Thus प्रमङ्गनम्, परिमङ्गनम from the root मगि सर्पणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to ण्यन्त verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word विहित: in explaining the sûtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the kṛit-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the kṛit-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending ( णि ) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निंसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निंस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादितिवर्त्तते । निंस निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The न् of निंस निक्ष and निन्द is changed to ण optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रणिंसनम् or प्रनिंसनम्, प्रणिक्षणम् or प्रनिक्षणम्, प्रणिन्दनम् or प्रनिन्दनम् ॥

These verbs are written with ण in the Dhâtupâṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न into ण would have been obligatory. The present sûtra makes it optional. The root णिसि means 'to kiss', णिक्ष चुम्बने, and णिदि कुत्सायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेपाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा दीप्तौ भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि कान्तौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृद्धौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषामुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य कृत्यस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यन्तानां भादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The न of a kṛit-affix is not changed to ण, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गामि 'to go', प्यायि 'to increase', वेप 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवनम्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

*Ishti*:—The verb पूञ् is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कमि प्रकमनम् परिकमनम् ॥ गमि प्रगमनम् परिगमनम् ॥
प्यायि प्रप्यायनम्, परिप्यायनम् ॥ वेपृ प्रवेपनम्, परिवेपनम् ॥

*Vârt*:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their kṛit-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

**षात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षात्, पदान्तात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारात्पदान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

35. After a ष् final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ष् here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also यजुष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "षात् after a ष्?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे अन्त or Locative Tatpurusha; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्पिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयजुष्केण ॥ Here the क is added by V. 4. 154. शोभनं सर्पिरस्य = सुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuvrîhi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क, the word सुसर्पिस् is a Pada ( I. 4. 17), and thus स् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member *followed* by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष् being final in the first term.

**नशेः षान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, षान्तस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नशेः षकारान्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

36. ण् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the श् is changed to ष् in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुम ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and श् changed ष् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say षान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word अन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनङ्क्ष्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the श् of नश् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ष् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41 ; and the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, प्लक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये ऽतद्धित इति वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्रावनद्धम्, पर्यवनद्धम्, प्रगाभयामः, परिगाभयामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

*Vârt:*—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयट् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahâbhâshya however does not approve of this Vârtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुभ्नादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुभ्नादिषु, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुभ्ना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sûtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीतः, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of श्ना being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

तृप्नु, तृप्नोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शराग्निः, दर्भानूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमन; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 दर्भानूपः, 24 आचार्यादणत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुभ्ना, 25 तृप्नु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन- यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी. 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम्। इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. आकृतिगण.

**स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, श्चुना, श्चुः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारचवर्गादेशौ भवतः।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of यथासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तोः श्चुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of यथासंख्यं, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to श, and तु to चु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्शेते, so also प्लक्षश्शेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षश्चिनोति, प्लक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्छादयति, प्लक्षश्छादयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निचिच् चिनोति, so also सोमसुच्चिनोति, अग्निचिच्छादयति, अग्निचिज्जयति, अग्निचिञ् ञकारम्, सोमसुच्छादयति, सोमसुज्जयति, सोमसुञ्ञकारम्, अग्निचिञ्ञकारः, सोमसुञ्ञकारः ॥ Similarly मस्ज् gives मज्जति, the स is changed to द् by झलां जश् झशि VIII. 4. 53, and then this द् is changed to a palatal i. e. to ज् here; and द् obtained by जश् rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भ्रस्ज we have भृज्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by नकारः as, यज् + न (III. 3. 90) = यज + ञ् = यज्ञः, याच् + न = याच्ञा ॥ In fact the instrumental case श्चुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by श्चु, or श्चु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, भ्रस्ज् + ति = भृस्ज् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = भृस्ज + ति = भृश्ज + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मज्जति, व्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sûtra been स्तोः श्चोः श्चुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

**ष्टुना ष्टुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्टुना, ष्टुः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारतवर्गयोः षकारटवर्गाभ्यां संनिपाते षकारटवर्गावादेशौ भवतः।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष् and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sûtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षष्षण्डे; प्लक्षष्षण्डे ॥

(2) स with ट, as, वृक्षस + टीकते = वृक्षट्टीकते, वृक्षष्ठकारः, प्लक्षट्टीकते and प्लक्षष्ठकारः ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष् + ता = पेष्टा, पेष्टुम्, पेष्टव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्ठाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with टु, as, अग्निचित् + टीकते = अग्निचिड्टीकते, सोमसुड्टीकते, अग्निचिड्ठकारः, अग्निचिड्डीनः, अग्निचिड्ढौकते, अग्निचिण्णकार, सोमसुड्ठकारः, सोमसुड्डीनः, सोमसुड्ढौकते, सोमसुण्णकारः ॥

The root अतृट अतिक्रमणहिंसयोः, and अदृड अभियोगे, are read in the Dhâtupâṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix क्विप् is added to them, the final ट and ड being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अत् and अद् ending in त् and द् ॥ Another reason is that the sûtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त and द are changed, as अट्टति and अड्डति ॥

न पदान्ताट्टोरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, टोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताट्टवर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः ष्टुत्वं न भवति नामित्येतद्वर्जयित्वा ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After टु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम ॥

Thus श्वलिट् + साये = श्वलिट्साये, मधुलिट्साये, श्वलिट्तरति, मधुलिट्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईड् + ते = ईड् + टे = ईट्टे ॥

Why do we say टोः 'after टु'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nâm'? Observe षड् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

*Vârt*:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्षण्डे ॥ भवान्षण्डे, महान्षण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुत्तरस्य तवर्गस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विश्नः &c.

यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यरोऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वाङ्नयति or वाग्नयति, अग्निचिद्नयति or अग्निचिन्नयति, त्रिष्टुब्नयति or त्रिष्टुम्नयति, श्वलिड्नयति or श्वलिण्नयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेद्मि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

*Vârt*:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + मात्रम् = वाङ्मात्रम्, किंवन्मात्रम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरौ यौ रेफहकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह् following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sûtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्क्कः, मर्क्कः, ब्रह्म्मा, अपह्न्नुते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe ह्नुते, ह्मलयति ॥

अनचि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अचि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतोऽनचि परतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ शरः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and यरः are understood here.

Thus दधि + अत्र = दध्य् + अत्र (VI. 1. 77) = दध्ध्य् + अत्र दद्ध्य् + अत्र (VIII. 4. 53) = दद्ध्यत्र, so also मद्ध्वत्र ॥

Why do we say अचः "after a vowel?" Observe स्मितम्, ध्मातम् ॥

*Vârt*:—यणो मयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This Vârtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyâhâra मय् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्क्का, वाल्म्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As दध्य्यत्र, मध्व्वत्र ॥

*Vârt*:—शरः खयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as स्थ्थाल, स्थ्थात. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वत्स्सरः, अप्स्सराः ॥

*Vârt*:—अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As वाक्क्, त्वक्क्, षट्ट्, तत्त् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

**नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपरइति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेः ।

**48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word âdinî follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.**

This debars the reduplication required by the last sûtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्त्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'. = शिशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

*Vârt*:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

*Vârt*:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्त्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्त्रजग्धी ॥

*Vârt*:—According to the option of Âchârya Paushkarasâdi, the letters of चय् pratyâhâra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyâhâra).

As वत्सः becomes वथ्सः अक्षरम् becomes अख्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अफ्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरोऽचि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sûtra. This debars the application of rule 46 *ante*. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षदर्शः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe दर्श्यते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the option of Śâkaṭâyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भ्राष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विर्वचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपह्नुते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्य्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As दात्रम्, पात्रम्, मूत्रम्, सूत्रम् ॥

झलां जश्झशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने जशादेशो भवति झशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ्+ ता=लब्धा, so also लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम् ; दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम् ; बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why do we say झशि, 'when a jhaś follows'? Observe दत्तः, दत्थः, दध्मः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्त्तमानानां झलां चरादेशो भवति चकाराज्जश् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occuring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जश्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (जश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word जश् has been drawn into the sûtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चिखनिषति ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root खन्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sûtra. चिच्छिषति, टिठकारयिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिफकारयिषति, बुभूषति, जिघत्सति, डुढौकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिचीषति, टिटीकिषते, तितनिषति ॥

The original जश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिजनिषति, बुबुधे, ददौ, डिड्ये ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a जश् by a जश् letter.

**खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलां चरादेशो भवति ।

**55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.**

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sûtra. Thus भेद्+ता=भेत्ता, भेत्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम्; युयुध्+सते=युयुत्सते; आरिप्सते, आलिप्सते from रभ् and लभ्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रभ् and लभ्, and we have रिम्स् and लिम्स् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

**वावसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अवसाने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां चरिति वर्त्तते । अवसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलां वा चरादेशो भवति ।

**56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.**

The words झलां चर् is understood in the sûtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, स्वक् or स्वग्, श्वलिट् or श्वलिड्, त्रिष्टुप् or त्रिष्टुब् ॥

**अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यसंज्ञस्यावसाने वर्त्तमाने वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

**57. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragṛihya.**

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragṛihya ( I. 1. 11 &c. ) The अण् here

is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus दधिँ or दधि, मधुँ or मधु, कुमारीँ or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel?" Observe, कर्तृ, हर्तृ ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragṛihya'? Observe अग्नी, वायू which are pragṛihya by I. 1. 11.

**अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्ण आदेशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvâra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शङ्किता, शङ्कितुम्, शङ्कितव्यम्, उञ्छिता, कुण्डिता, नन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शकि शङ्कायाम्, उछि उञ्छे, कुडि दाहे, टुनदि समृद्धौ, कपि चलने ॥ Here नुम् is is added because they are इदित्, and this न् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvâra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to ञ् when followed by a palatal च &c, and so on to ण्, न् and म् ॥

Why do we say when यय् follows'? Observe आक्रंस्यते, आचिक्रंस्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the णत्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvâra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with त ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ण is never substituted for न ॥

**वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णादेशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कथं चित्रपक्षं डयमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तङ्कथञ्चित्रपक्षण्डयमानन्नभःस्थम्पुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

**तोर्लि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णादेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निचित् + लुनाति = अग्निचिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति ; भवान् + लुनाति = भवाँल्लुनाति, महाँल्लुनाति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

**उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, स्था स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरयोः स्था स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णादेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उदः पूर्वसवर्णत्वे स्कन्देश्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् । वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थ्याता = उद् + थाता (VIII. 4. 65) = उत् + थाता (VIII. 4. 55) = उत्थाता, उत्थातुम्, उत्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and स्तम्भ? Compare उत्स्नात ॥

*Vârt*:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्द् preceded by उद् ॥ As, अग्ने दूरमुत्कन्दः ॥

*Vârt*:—So also when it means a disease. As उत्कन्दको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्द्, and not स्कन्द् ॥

झयो होऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्वलिड् ढसति or हसति, अग्निचित् धसति or हसति, त्रिष्टुब् भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् धसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe प्राङ् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शश्छोऽटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्त्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शकारस्याटि परतश्छकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छत्वममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sûtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छेते or °शेते ॥ अग्निचिच्छेते or अग्निचित् शेते, श्वलिट् शेते or छेते, त्रिष्टुप्छेते or शेते ॥

*Vârt*:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sûtra only gives अट् letters, the vârtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तत् श्लोकेन = तच् छ्लोकेन, तच्छ्मश्रुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sûtra. Thus शय्य्या or शय्या, the middle य् being elided. In शय्या there are two यs, one of the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अयङ् (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्त्य्य (formed by doubling त by the Vârtika under 47 *ante*), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्त्य there are two यs, one of ण्य (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्य्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third य, as आदित्य्य्य ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle य or both the middle य's. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्य्यः ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अम्मम् when म् is preceded by a *vowel*.

Why do we say यमाम् "of यम् letters"? Observe अग्ग्निः, अर्घ्यम् (V. 4. 25) where घ is not a यम् ॥

Why do we say यमि "when यम् follows"? Observe शार्ङ्गम् here ङ् is not followed by a यम् ॥

झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झरः, झरि, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य झरो झरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हलः is understood. Thus प्रत्त्तम्, अवत्त्तम् have three त, namely, one त substituted for आ by VII. 4. 47, the second त resulting from the change of द् to त by चर्त्व change, the third त is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. मरुत्त्त्त here are four तs. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत् + दा + क्त = मरुत् + दत् + त (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vârt) = मरुत्त ॥

Why do we say झरः 'of a jhar'? Compare शार्ङ्ग्म्, here ङ् which is not a झर् is not elided, though it is follwed by a झर् letter. Why do we say झरि 'followed by a jhar'? See प्रियपञ्च्चः ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi compound = प्रियाः पञ्चास्य ॥ The word प्रिय stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (*vârt*). The full word is प्रियापञ्चन्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have प्रियपञ्च्न् ; and then this न् becomes a palatal ञ् ॥ Here च् is preceded by a हल् letter, and itself is a झर्, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter म्, but as म् is not झर्, the च् is not elided. The elided अ is not considered sthânivat, and so च is considered to be *immediately* followed by म् ॥

Why do we say सवर्णे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe सर्न्तु, तर्प्तम् &c, where प् and त् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सवर्णे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been झरो झरि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms शिण्ढि पिण्ढि could not have been evolved by the elision of ड before ढ ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of शिष् and पिष् ॥ The अ of श्नम् is elided by VI. 4. 111: the हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101, the ष् is changed to ड् by VIII. 4. 53, the न् of श्नम् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvâra is again changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 58; the ध is changed to ढ, and by the present rule, the preceding ड् is elided before this ढ ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादुत्तरस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

**66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudâtta vowel which follows an Udâtta vowel.**

Thus अग्निम् + ईळे = अग्निमीळे ॥ Here ई which was अनुदात्त by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udâtta इ of agni.

So also गार्ग्यः, वात्स्यः ॥ Here यञ् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being ञित् the words are first acute. The final is anudâtta, which becomes svarita. So also पचति and पठति, the शप् and तिप् are anudâtta, the root is accented, the अ of शप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudâtta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udâtta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

**67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Âchâryâs Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava; when an udâtta or a svarita follows the anudâtta.**

This debars the preceding rule. That anudâtta which is *followed* by an Udâtta is उदात्तोदयः or उदात्तपरः ॥ The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudâtta which is *followed* by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः ॥ These are Bahuvrîhi compounds. Thus उदात्तोदयः—गार्ग्य-

स्तैर्न, वीरस्त्व स्तैर्न ॥ The word तैन is first acute by लित् accent, before this udâtta, the व of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोदयः—गार्ग्यः कुं वीरस्त्वः कुं ॥ The word कु is svarita being formed by the तित् affix मत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding व does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gârgya, Kâśyapa and Gâlava"? Observe गार्ग्यः कुं, गार्ग्यस्तत्र ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pâṇini commences his sûtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sûtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Âchâryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujârtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोऽत्र विवृतो ऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

**68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥**

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashṭâdhyâyi, Pâṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or vivṛita, when operations are performed with it: but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ ३ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mâtra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ॑, अ॒. अं, अँ॑, अँ, अँ ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.



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